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ABSTRACT

A discussion of work satisfaction, motivation, and commitment focuses on unique needs and issues in the profession of English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) teaching. The first chapter gives an overview of literature on the general subjects of work satisfaction, motivation, commitment, and closely related areas such as stress and burnout, including a discussion of research methodology. Chapter two summarizes the literature in these areas as they concern the teaching profession, and chapter three focuses on these areas of concern in ESL teaching, especially in the British and United States contexts. A consistency in results across several studies is found, pointing to the need to attend to rewards and cultivate professionalism in the field. The final chapter makes concrete recommendations for improvement in the structure of ESL work and motivational efforts directed at ESL teachers. Contains 174 references. (MSE)

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WORK SATISFACTION, MOTIVATION, AND COMMITMENT IN TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

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PREFACE

Teaching has long been a profession noted more for its inherent satisfactions than for its satisfaction of material wants and needs. As recognized by Broadfoot (1990):

> Being a teacher has never been an easy job. Even in those times and places where teachers have enjoyed the special respect of the community for the key role that they perform, this has rarely, if ever, been reflected in the conventional benefits of good pay and conditions. Whilst teaching is a job for some, for many it is a vocation that they embrace for the satisfaction inherent in the importance of the task in teaching their specialist subject and in the pleasure that working with pupils for the most part affords. (p. 165)

The achievement of an adequate balance between satisfaction of psychological needs -- e.g., for creative outlets, for connectedness to others, and for self-perceived efficacy in work performance -- and the satisfaction of concrete work requirements -- e.g., for monetary compensation and for a safe and secure working environment -- would seem to be the necessary precondition for individual teachers, educational programs, and the larger field of education to be able to thrive. When such a balance has not been achieved, teachers are neither motivated nor able to do their best work -- work that embodies a "creative, often intuitive response of an individual to a diverse range of external pressures and requirements" (Broadfoot, 1990, p. 165).

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Around the world, one can hear practitioners in English as a Second Language (ESL) expressing both satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their work. Among the satisfactions commonly voiced about ESL work are travel opportunities, the possibility of interacting with people of other cultures, and the chance to teach language in creative ways. The positive attributes of ESL work have ensured that this a popular job choice around the world, both for those electing to work as volunteers or short-term teachers and for those choosing ESL as a career. At the same time, there are many dissatisfactions and occupational concerns voiced within the ESL field, ranging from low salary and lack of benefits to inadequate recognition on the job and in the society at large.

Where it exists, work dissatisfaction is a serious matter which may contribute to ineffectiveness, unproductivity, psychological distress, and physical illness in employees. Prolonged or extreme dissatisfaction within ESL can lead to loss of qualified people from particular language programs and from ESL practice in general, thereby threatening the emerging professionalism of the field. As teacher dissatisfaction becomes more public, it may also result in loss of students and in fewer people entering ESL with long-term career aspirations. Therefore, if such dissatisfaction is widespread, it threatens the health of individual teachers, language programs, and the profession at large.

This volume addresses the issue of work satisfaction and motivation in ESL, in order to make a preliminary determination of the level of work satisfaction and the major occupational issues facing the field, and from this determination to draw implications for program management and for the future of the emergent profession of ESL. The study offers a general overview of the subject of work satisfaction, motivation, commitment, and closely related areas such as job stress and burnout in Chapter One. Chapter Two summarizes the literature on job satisfaction, motivation, commitment, work-related stress, and burnout in the teaching profession. Chapter Three builds on the foundation of the first two chapters to examine these same areas of occupational concerns in ESL proper. The investigation uncovers a consistency of results across several studies, all of which point to a need for attention to rewards and professionalism within the ESL field. These topics are addressed in the final chapter in the form of concrete recommendations for improvements in the structure of ESL work and in motivational practices directed at ESL teachers.

The volume represents the first attempt to characterize the professional perspectives of ESL teachers in the context of other workers and other teachers. The book draws on the available data on ESL teachers and their characteristics and attitudes, as well as information from other sources -- especially, the literature from organizational management, which is drawn primarily from industrial contexts, and the general education literature, which is drawn primarily from public school contexts. While one can assume that there are many parallels between the ESL work context and the work contexts of others, the parallels are certainly not absolute. The results of the present investigation should therefore be taken as suggestive and preliminary, rather than defini-

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tive.

Considering the paucity of field-specific information available, the present volume can be seen as providing a first approximation, or initial model, of the ESL work environment that will be elaborated and refined by others in the future. It therefore represents one step along the way towards what one might hope can eventually become a comprehensive and accurate depiction of the ESL occupation that will incorporate rich characterizations of ESL practitioners and the work they perform, and how these differ from other practitioners and types of work. As this body of information is extended and developed over time, we will begin to evolve a better sense of who we are as ESL practitioners and of what our profession represents in terms of educational, social, and political issues.

There are many potentially salutary effects of the possession of such information. To the extent that information forms the basis for understanding, we will be better able to understand ourselves, individually and collectively, and to help others understand us. To the extent that information forms the basis for action, for individuals acting alone or for groups of individuals acting in concert, we will be in a better position to act. To the extent that information influences others to act, we will find ourselves in a better position to achieve our goals within the institutions where we work, within the field of education, and within society. The power of information is potent, and as we build up the informational base of professional practices and employment concerns, we will be harnessing that power to the service of ESL. For the power of information gives us a foundation for positive change and for support of our individual and collective positions within institutions and within society at large. In this way, by increasing knowledge of the occupational perspectives of those practicing within our field, we are setting up the conditions to empower ESL teachers to do the best work that they are capable of.

CHAPTER ONE

THE INVESTIGATION OF WORK SATISFACTION, MOTIVATION AND COMMITMENT

Conceptual Frameworks

Work is for most people a major life focus, not only as a center of activity that consumes a large proportion of their time and energy, but also as a context for many different types of experiences, both intellectual and social, rewarding as well as frustrating. Drawing on the discussion in Steers and Porter (1987d, pp. 575-576), one can see that work fulfills a variety of human purposes and needs. First of all, work has societal value; it is a commodity that can be exchanged for other valued commodities produced by the labor of other individuals. Work therefore links together human beings in a network of valued activities. Second, work creates personal relations and a social community outside of the family, both within and between offices and organizations. Third, work is a source of power and status in society which people gain through their place in the community network of exchange and through the nature, quality, and quantity of work they contribute to the common good. Fourth, work creates and fulfills personal meanings:

> From a psychological standpoint, it can be an important source of identity, self-esteem, and self-actualization. It can

> provide a sense of fulfillment by giving an employee a sense of purpose and by clarifying his or her value to society. Conversely, however, it can also be a source of frustration, boredom, and feelings of meaninglessness, depending on the characteristics of the individual and on the nature of the task. People tend to evaluate themselves according to what they have been able to accomplish. If they see their job as hampering the achievement of their full potential, it often becomes difficult for them to maintain a sense of purpose at work. Such feelings can then lead to a reduced level of job involvement, decreased job satisfaction, and a lowered desire to perform. Hence, the nature of the job -- and the meaning it has for the employee -- can have a profound impact on employee attitudes and work behavior. (Steers & Porter, 1987d, p. 576)

Since work is such a central part of life, the subject of work satisfaction, motivation, and commitment should be an important concern of all adult human beings. Knowing something about what makes people happy or unhappy in their work can be of value to individuals in selecting appropriate careers and specific jobs, and in handling their experiences on the job. Understanding the sources of work satisfaction and dissatisfaction can also be of value to managers in making hiring decisions and in dealing with problems that arise with employees. The investigation of attitudes towards work in a particular job environment furnishes valuable information about what motivates people to put their best effort into their work, and on this basis provides direction for training future employees and managers for that work environment. Such investigation can also uncover information about what motivates people to stay in or to leave a certain job or field and so help companies, institutions, and professional organizations to develop measures for addressing problems or for attempting to match high satisfaction results in other work environments.

Work Satisfaction and Commitment

Measuring work satisfaction involves assessing the extent to which people feel their needs are being fulfilled by their work, both in a particular job (job satisfaction) and in their occupation or career overall (occupational or career satisfaction). Two general orientations in the literature on job satisfaction, reviewed briefly by Menlo and Poppleton (1990, pp. 175-176), are relevant to the discussion of work satisfaction here. In the first of these frameworks, sometimes referred to as the General Relationship Model (Gruneberg, 1979), job satisfaction is seen as a global outcome which is related to a variety of attributes of individual employees and their job situations, such as their age, personality, roles and responsibilities, and working conditions. This orientation to the measurement of job satisfaction seeks to uncover the relevant set of attributes (the independent, or predictor, variables) and to determine their relationship to job satisfaction (the focal, or dependent, variable). The result of this determination will be a complex model containing a number of

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variables or factors which together predict to measures of job satisfaction -- or, going beyond a particular job, to career satisfaction. These predictors of an employee's level of job satisfaction incorporate assessments of individual attributes as well as assessments of satisfaction off the job that might impact attitudes on the job.

According to the second theoretical orientation, which has been termed the Discrepancy Model (Wanous & Lawler, 1972), people will be satisfied with a particular job or career choice to the extent that their expectations of needs fulfillment match their actual experiences and perceptions in the job or career. In other words, the degree of job satisfaction that a person experiences depends on how great a discrepancy is perceived between work expectations and work experiences. The work expectations which a person has stem from underlying values about work in general and how central it is to that person's life (i.e., work centrality -- see discussion below). An individual's work expectations are also based on the significance of different career choices and of particular jobs for that individual. The perception of the fit between these underlying values and expectations, on the one hand, and the reality of the work situation, on the other, gives rise to the complex emotional response, or affective reaction, that is here referred to as work satisfaction. In this affective reaction, "interpretation of the work situation is at least as important as objective reality" (Staw et al., 1986, p. 57).

An important element of both of these models, or frameworks, for describing and assessing work-related attitudes is the concept of work centrality. Work centrality, which is a measure of a person's commitment of psychological energy and time to work (Mannheim, 1975), may be seen as a component of work satisfaction, in that it helps set the standard against which work values are measured. As an independent measure of work perceptions, work centrality demonstrates devotion to a job or career and is related to motivation and to work values, roles, status, rewards, and efficacy (Kremer-Hayon & Goldstein, 1990, p. 287; Mannheim & Cohen, 1978). Certain professions are thought to be associated with high work centrality; among these is teaching, though Kremer-Hayon and Goldstein (1990, p. 287) caution against a naive acceptance of this stereotype.

A major component of work satisfaction is the attitudes people have in relation to their current employment, i.e., what is termed job satisfaction. A basic conceptualization of job satisfaction underpinning the Discrepancy Model was developed by Locke (1969), using Rand's (1966) theory of emotions as a starting point. Locke (1969, p. 316) defines job satisfaction as "the pleasurable emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job as achieving or facilitating the achievement of one's job values." According to Locke (1969), the appraisal process incorporates three elements:

(1) the perception of some aspect of the job;
(2) an implicit or explicit value standard; and
(3) a conscious or subconscious judgment of the relationship between (e.g., discrepancy between) one's perception(s)

> and one's value(s). (pp. 316-317)

For example, a person's level of satisfaction with a supervisor is determined, first, by how the supervisor is perceived and second, by comparing that perception of the supervisor's behavior against a value standard of what a supervisor's behavior should be. Individuals may differ in any or all of the following three factors: (1) their perception of the supervisor's behavior, (2) the value standard against which they evaluate that behavior and (3) their estimation of the discrepancy between the observed and the ideal behavior. The higher a person's expectations, the more likely that person is to perceive a significant discrepancy between the actual and the ideal job situation, and so to experience some degree of job dissatisfaction (Brophy, 1959).

In the view of Smith et al. (1975), the value standard according to which people make a personal judgment of their degree of job satisfaction is based on one of two possible frames of reference: (a) one which is relative to a particular work environment or (b) one which is a more general, absolute standard. Smith et al. (1975) maintain that people base their general evaluation of their own job satisfaction on an internal, absolute standard of what they believe work should be like. At the same time, these authors maintain that people base their evaluation of their degree of satisfaction with individual job facets (e.g., pay or supervision) on a relative standard which takes into consideration their specific work situation, including the condition of other employees. Thus, measures of satisfaction based on individual job facets do not necessarily yield the same results as undifferentiated, "facet-free" measures of general job satisfaction (Bolton, 1986; Crites, 1985; Scarpello & Campbell, 1983; Smith et al., 1975). As noted by Menlo and Poppleton (1990, p. 176), a facet-free measure of job satisfaction is "an expression of satisfaction at a higher level of abstraction than satisfaction related to any of the specific aspects of the job, e.g. a particular practice, role or responsibility, or work condition." It is therefore neither inconsistent nor uncommon for a person to be relatively satisfied with a job overall and yet to express considerable dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the work situation.

Although job satisfaction is a major component of overall work satisfaction, the latter measure also includes career satisfaction, i.e., the extent to which a person feels satisfied with a career choice independent of any particular job. While a person's degree of satisfaction with the current position will influence the judgment of career satisfaction overall, job satisfaction and career satisfaction are distinguishable and have been measured separately in some studies. Based on Locke's job satisfaction model, it can be assumed that when people assess their career satisfaction, they will vary in their perceptions and value standards, as well as in their judgment of the discrepancy between the two. Drawing on Smith et al.'s (1975) insights, it can further be assumed that people base their judgments of career satisfaction both on absolute values about work and on standards which are relative to other people and careers.

Maslow's (1943, 1954) theory of human needs has informed much of the literature on work satisfaction and the related literature on work motivation and commitment. According to Maslow, human needs are arranged in a hierarchy such that certain low-level needs must be satisfied before higher level needs can be attended to. At the lowest level of the needs hierarchy are basic physiological drives such as hunger. At the next level is the need for safety and security. In Maslow's theory, once these needs have been satisfied, humans will exhibit social needs such as the need for love, affection, and "belongingness." At a higher level are needs for esteem:

> These needs may be classified into two subsidiary sets. These are, first, the desire for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for confidence in the face of the world, and for independence and freedom. Secondly, we have what we may call the desire for reputation or prestige (defining it as respect or esteem from other people), recognition, attention, importance or appreciation. (Maslow, 1943, pp. 381-382)

At the highest level of the needs hierarchy, Maslow posits a need for self-actualization: "This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming" (Maslow, 1943, p. 382).

Another theory of human needs that has been influential in the work satisfaction and motivation literature is the manifest needs theory of Murray (1938). Murray's theory differs from Maslow's in defining a wider range of needs which are not hierarchically related and which may in fact exist simultaneously. The

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needs defined by Murray include needs for achievement, affiliation, autonomy, power, order, and impulsivity, among others. As pointed out by Steers (1987, p. 60):

> While the manifest needs model encompasses an entire set of needs, most research in organizational settings has focused on the four needs of achievement, affiliation, autonomy, and power. These four needs seem to be particularly important for understanding people at work.

Using Maslow's theory as a starting point, Herzberg et al. (1959) developed a model of job satisfaction based on two different types of factors. As described by Herzberg (1976), this two-factor model, which was an influential antecedent of the General Relationship Model, differentiates between (1) high-order, internal needs, such as achievement, recognition, responsibility, or professional growth, and (2) externally imposed work conditions and constraints, such as company policy and administration, supervision, physical working conditions, and salary. The first type of factor are termed motivator factors. These incorporate influences on employment attitudes which are intrinsic to the work itself. The second type of factor are termed hygiene factors. These represent influences on employment attitudes which are extrinsic to the work of a particular job. In Herzberg's view, motivator factors -- the inherently satisfying qualities of work that fulfill human beings' higher order needs -- are the primary cause of people's satisfaction with their work, and hygiene factors -- the externally imposed conditions and rewards of employment -- are the primary cause of job dissatisfaction. Drawing on Herzberg's two-factor model and on the insights of Friedlander and Walton (1964), Schackmuth (1979) observes:

> [T]he reasons one remains with an organization reflect positive motivations or work process factors (e.g., personal growth, a sense of achievement). The reasons for which an employee leaves an organization reflect negative motivations, namely those factors dealing with circumstances peripheral to the work process itself (e.g., working conditions, company policies). (p. 229)

Thus, sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with work may not be the same (Kremer-Hayon & Goldstein, 1990). One might be satisfied with those aspects of a job or career which meet personal requirements for psychological well-being (social and esteem needs) and growth (self-actualization), but dissatisfied with individual job facets, working conditions, or career constraints.

To sum up the foregoing discussion, satisfaction with work stems from a positive orientation to the nature of the work that results in a self-satisfying work process. When individuals are unable to derive internal psychological rewards from the nature of the work process, they then turn outward in the search for rewards, to the extrinsic features of the work context. Ironically, because these extrinsic contextual features of work are peripheral to the work process, they do not in fact provide much in the way of work satisfaction: not only do they fail to compensate for lack of satisfaction with the work process, they tend to become a focus only when the employee is already experiencing low satisfaction of higher order needs. Thus, so-called hygiene factors appear to have a relatively neutral effect when intrinsic, motivator factors are high, but to have an accelerated, multiplier effect when motivator factors are low. From this point of view, hygience factors related to the environment and conditions of work are more properly viewed not as satisfiers, but rather as dissatisfiers, i.e., as a focus of workers' dissatisfaction.

Typically, then, people focus any dissatisfaction they feel with their work on extrinsic features of the work context. In addition, work dissatisfactions tend to be focused narrowly on concrete, present-oriented aspects of a job, the "here and now" of the daily employment situation. Work satisfactions, on the other hand, tend to be focused more broadly on the larger outlook of a whole career, including, especially, one's future plans and goals. "*In other words, prediction of job satisfaction is more precise when it is based not only on variables which define the present characteristics of the subject, but also on variables which express his[/her] future projects*" [italics in original] (Francès and Lebras, 1982, p. 395). Where an employee's future-oriented, long-term outlook is positive, there is less attention to the more immediate, quotidian framework. However, where the broad outlook is unsatisfactory and there seems little chance of career aspirations being met in a given work context, the employee's attention shifts to the immediate frame of reference, which assumes comparatively great importance.

Buchanan (1974) stresses the importance of the employee's personal commitment to a particular job or to an occupation or field as a whole in achieving high levels of work satisfaction and achievement. This personal commitment is defined as "a partisan, affective attachment to the goals and values of an organization, to one's role in relation to goals and values, and to the organization for its own sake, apart from its instrumental worth" (Buchanan, 1974, p. 533). Hackman and Oldham (1980) and Deci and Ryan (1985) stress the importance of internal motivators such as challenge and psychological growth for achieving satisfaction in one's work. Deci's (1975) research shows that intrinsic motivation increases commitment to task and so has a positive effect on performance. His research also underscores the potentially negative effect on motivation and performance of extrinsic rewards. Even when at the desired level, some extrinsic motivators -- e.g., higher pay -- can fail to affect work attitudes positively. The relative importance of psychological factors in work satisfaction and the lesser importance of pay -- in spite of a generally held belief to the contrary -- have been confirmed in a study of over 35,000 employees conducted by Cangemi and Guttschalk (1986), who find that employees most desire appreciation, participation, and sympathetic understanding, whereas their supervisors believe these to be the least important matters to their employees, assuming instead that what they most desire is better pay.

Work Motivation

Motivation can be defined in simple terms as "personal investment" of time and energy (Maehr & Braskamp, 1986) or as "that which energizes, directs, and sustains behavior" (Steers & Porter, 1987d, p. 577). According to Steers and Porter (1987a, pp. 6-8), motivation can be modelled in terms of four components. These are:

(1) needs or expectations, which when unfulfilled, create a sense of disequillibrium and the desire for satisfaction;
(2) behavior to try to satisfy the needs or expectations;
(3) goals for achieving satisfaction;
(4) some form of feedback indicating whether and to what degree the needs or expectations have been fulfilled according to the goals set for satisfaction.

From the perspective of needs or drives, present behavior is motivated primarily by the degree to which needs and drives have been satisfied in the past. However, motivation is also generated by anticipation of rewards in the future, as emphasized in cognitive or expectancy theories of motivation developed by Vroom (1964) and Porter and Lawler (1968). The essence of this theoretical orientation is described by Pinder (1987) as follows: "Employee effort is jointly determined by two key factors: the value placed on certain outcomes by the individual, and the

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degree to which the person believes that his[/her] effort will lead to the attainment of these rewards" (p. 75). In this view of work-related motivation, "intrinsic rewards can be much more closely connected with good performance than extrinsic rewards, because the former result (almost automatically) from performance itself, whereas the latter depend upon outside sources (both to recognize that performance has been attained and to administer rewards accordingly)" (Pinder, 1987, p. 76).

An important element of this conception of work-related motivation is equity of rewards, the notion that employees will be satisfied with rewards only if they believe them to be equitable. This notion underscores the fact that the motivating potential of a reward is not determined solely by its size. A reward which is seen as inequitable or in some other sense inappropriate -- e.g., because it is too long in coming or is less desired than some other form of reward -- does not necessarily motivate performance in a positive direction. In the view of Porter and Lawler (1968), satisfaction is "the extent to which rewards actually received meet or exceed the perceived equitable level of rewards" (p. 31). Through experience, employees develop an expectation of their needs being satisfied, and they are motivated by the anticipated internal or external rewards that will accrue from their effort at work. As Steers and Porter (1987d) point out:

> a worker has certain personal expectations concerning the type and amount of reward he or she should receive for services rendered. The extent to which such expectations are met

> would presumably affect in large measure the inclination of the worker to continue at the current level of performance and, indeed, might even ultimately affect the decision concerning whether to remain with the organization. (pp. 575-576)

Although the definition of work motivation at first seems to be relatively straightforward, Steers and Porter (1987d) point out that it is actually a rather complicated matter to describe this central force in human behavior in more than a superficial way. One reason is that motivation is not subject to direct observation but must be inferred from overt behavior. Another reason is that a uniform profile of motivation cannot be given for all people, as there is variation in both type and strength of motives for different individuals and for the same individual under different circumstances. An additional complication is the fact that the effect of different motives are generally not independent but rather exhibit complex interactions in which some motives may be in conflict with one another, while others are mutually reinforcing. Moreover, the gratification of certain needs -- principally, those termed "low level needs" in Maslow's system -- considerably reduces the intensity of the motivation to achieve those needs, while the gratification of other sorts of needs -- principally, those termed "high level needs" in Maslow's system -- increases the level of need or the expectation of fulfillment. "Thus, while the gratification of certain needs, desires, and expectations may at times lead individuals to shift their focus of attention toward different motives, at other times such gratification can serve to increase the strength of the motive" (Steers & Porter, 1987b, p. 8). As an example, when monetary rewards are perceived as fulfilling a need for financial security, the gratification of this need may cause employees to shift their attention to other, higher level motives such as personal achievement. However, when monetary rewards are perceived as fulfilling a need for personal achievement or power, the gratification of this need may increase the intensity of the desire for its fulfillment, i.e., for monetary rewards.

In the complex framework for thinking about motivation reviewed by Steers and Porter (1987d, p. 577), as originally formulated by Porter and Miles (1974), there are three different levels, or sources, of variables affecting motivation:

- Variables Stemming from the Nature of the Individual Employee (e.g., attitudes, interests, and needs);
- Variables Stemming from the Nature of the Work (e.g., degree of control and level of responsibility);
- Variables Stemming from the Nature of the Larger Organizational Context (e.g., peer group relations, supervisory practices, systemwide rewards, and organizational climate).

According to Steers and Porter (1987d), a systems perspective is required to understand motivation since these three areas of variation are interrelated, each affecting the others in different ways at different times: "The individual is thus seen as potentially being in a constant state of flux vis-à-vis his or her motivational level, depending on the nature, strength, and interactive effects of these three groups of variables (Steers & Porter, 1987d, p. 577).

Methods and Instruments for Investigating Work Satisfaction

A large number of survey forms have been developed to measure work satisfaction on the basis of theories of human behavior and motivation. These survey instruments seek to define job or career satisfaction in terms of a number of interrelated and independent elements that are thought to be present in most or all jobs. They typically incorporate both intrinsic and extrinsic motivators that might underlie a person's level of work satisfaction overall or in individual job facets or career components. Some instruments are intended to be purely descriptive, while others are designed to include both descriptive and evaluative items. Some instruments solicit quick, reactive responses, while others solicit thoughtful responses that require an assessment of alternatives along a scale of answer choices.

Although the form of the instruments varies considerably, they typically ask respondents to rate their satisfaction in categories such as pay, opportunity for advancement, the nature of the work, working conditions, supervision, and relationships with others in their work by reacting to adjectives, phrases, or statements according to a scale of values or some other type of rating system. The ratings in different categories are then usually totalled in linear fashion, though it is also possible to weight individual items or categories according to their relative importance. In some cases, an overall average (e.g., a grand mean) is derived to obtain a general index of work satisfaction. In other cases, overall satisfaction is measured by a separate scale or question(s), such as "How would you rate your overall satisfaction with this job (or this career)?"

To take a well-known example of a job satisfaction instrument, the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire [MSQ] (Weiss et al., 1967) asks respondents to rate items such as the following on a 5-point scale from "not satisfied" to "extremely satisfied":

On my present job, this is how I feel about...

1. The chance to be of service to others.
2. The chance to try out some of my own ideas.
3. Being able to do my job without feeling it is morally wrong.
4. The chance to work by myself.
5. The variety in my work.
6. The chance to have other workers look to me for direction.
7. The chance to do the work that I do best.
8. The social position in the community that goes with the job.
9. The policies and practices toward employees of this company.
10. The way my supervisor and I understand each other.

11. My job security.

12. The amount of pay for the work I do.

The long form of the MSQ contains 100 such items, five each from one of twenty job facets (e.g., Compensation, Achievement, Social Service). The MSQ includes a General Satisfaction index derived by summing the most representative response in each of the twenty categories (i.e., the one that correlates best with the mean of the five scores for that category). Because of the way it is computed, the General Satisfaction index represents a cross-sectional view of the responses on all of the individual job facet scales.

As another example, the Job Descriptive Index [JDI] (Smith et al., 1975) asks respondents to indicate on a three-way scale of "Y" (=yes), "N" (=no) or "?" (undecided) whether or not certain adjectives and phrases describe their job situation in categories such as Pay:

PRESENT PAY

____ Income adequate for normal expenses
____ Satisfactory profit sharing
____ Barely live on income
____ Bad
____ Income provides luxuries
____ Insecure
____ Less than I deserve
____ Highly paid

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____ Underpaid

Along with scales for Pay, Promotions (opportunities for advancement), Co-Workers (attitudes towards other employees) Supervision (effectiveness of supervision), and Work (the nature of the work), the developers of the JDI have recently added a separate scale for Job in General (Smith, 1985). Since this index of general job satisfaction is a separate scale and is computed independently of the other scales, it can be said to represent a "one-shot," facet-free view, rather than a cross-sectional average, of job satisfaction. Thus, we can assume that people's overall level of satisfaction according to the Job in General scale might be higher than either (1) their satisfaction in some individual job facets or categories and (2) their overall satisfaction as measured by a cross-sectional average of those individual measures.

The MSQ and JDI are the most widely used instruments for measuring work satisfaction (Bolton, 1986; Crites, 1985) and have been employed to measure work satisfaction in teaching and in ESL, as we will see in the next two chapters. They therefore require our attention in the context of the present volume. However, these instruments are limited in that they assume a simple linear additive model (Hulin & Smith, 1965), with all scales weighted equally, of the relationships between the different components which are measured. Yet it seems clear that people intuitively assign greater weight to certain aspects of their job than others. Moreover, it has been shown that the individual scales of instruments such as the MSQ (Bolton, 1986;

Guion, 1978) and JDI (Crites, 1985) are not entirely independent but rather exhibit some intercorrelations.

Crites (1985) argues that the JDI may suffer from validity problems related to these features and also to the fact of its being heavily biased toward evaluative, rather than descriptive, items within each of its scales. Kerr (1985) notes that the JDI may not take account of all factors related to job satisfaction. Scarpello and Campbell (1983) demonstrate that well-known job satisfaction survey instruments such as the MSQ may be a less valid satisfaction measures than once believed. They offer proof that the MSQ is not comprehensive, since certain aspects of job satisfaction are not covered in the instrument's descriptors, and that a written survey instrument may be less effective than face-to-face interviews for uncovering valid assessments of job satisfaction.

The MSQ and JDI are restricted by design to an interpretation that focuses on a particular job, and so they do not present the whole picture of work satisfaction, which encompasses not only a particular job but one's choice of field and career prospects. In spite of these shortcomings, the MSQ and JDI have withstood the scrutiny of many test analysts (Bolton, 1986; Crites, 1985; Guion, 1978; Kerr, 1985) and are still popular and widely used because, as standardized instruments, they allow for comparison across different individuals and circumstances. However, since they are somewhat limited in what they measure, the use of information gathered by means of such instruments should be supplemented by other sources of information about attitudes towards work.

Newer approaches to the measurement of work satisfaction attempt to give a more comprehensive and explanatory picture of the nature of work satisfaction and its relationships to other variables. In one example of particular relevance for the present volume, the Consortium for Cross-cultural Research in Education, a group of ten teams of researchers located in different countries, has studied the work perceptions of secondary teachers cross-culturally using a new questionnaire instrument developed specifically for their Teacher Professional Satisfaction Study. This study is a major source of information on the work perceptions of teachers around the world.

According to Menlo and Poppleton (1990), the general research aims of the study are as follows:

(i) to study the perceptions of a representative sample of teachers working in state secondary comprehensive schools about the factors contributing to their sense of professional satisfaction. These factors would include working conditions, work activities, professional roles and responsibilities;

(ii) to study the relationship of these factors with the schooling environment on the one hand and teachers' personal characteristics and demographics on the other, and with dimensions of the teacher's quality of working life;

(iii) to devise methods and procedures which would allow each country's researchers to interpret their findings in both their own unicultural context and the context of international comparisons, and;

(iv) to consider the implications for teacher education programmes and school administration and organisation development policies in each unicultural setting. (p. 177)

The questionnaire instrument which the Consortium developed to fulfill these aims seeks to bring together several different types of information about teachers' characteristics and work perceptions. It includes items inquiring about the subjects' demographic and personal characteristics and school context, as well as the following variables:

- Teaching practice: the difficulty, use, importance for the individual's job satisfaction, and importance for student learning and development, of 16 teaching practices, as measured on a three-point scale;
- Roles and responsibilities: involvement in and importance for the individual's job satisfaction, of 18 teacher roles and responsibilities, as measured on a three-point scale;
- Work conditions: involvement in and importance for the individual's job satisfaction, of 33 work conditions, as measured on a three-point scale;
- Overall job satisfaction: one question each on enjoyment of teaching as an occupation, how teaching measures up to initial expectations, retrospective likelihood of entering teaching again, and satisfaction with the present job, as measured on a four-point scale;

- Work centrality: importance of success in teaching (two questions), matters connected with teaching which occupy the individual's thinking outside of the teaching environment (one question), and interest in school events outside the individual's own classroom (one question), as measured on a four-point scale;
- Job stress: overall feeling of stress experienced on the present job (one question);
- Open-ended response: the final page of the instrument.

(Menlo & Poppleton, 1990, pp. 179-180)

The results of this cross-cultural research on teachers, which furnishes useful background for interpreting information about ESL teaching, are summarized in Chapter Two.

Other instruments seek to define attitudes towards employment in a more restricted or specialized manner. For example, the Maslach Burnout Inventory [MBI] (Maslach & Jackson, 1986) is designed to measure the degree to which employees are suffering from the burnout syndorme. As described by Maslach and Jackson (1986), the MBI is a psychological measurement instrument designed to assess the three aspects of the burnout syndrome that have been identified in the literature on work-related attitudes in human services fields: Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization, and lack of Personal Accomplishment. Each of these aspects has been developed as a subscale of the MBI. A high degree of burnout is reflected in high scores on the first two of these scales and in low scores on the last one.

The MBI consists of 22 statements of feelings that potentially apply to those working in human services. Examples of the statements are the following:

Sample Emotional Exhaustion statement:
I feel emotionally drained from my work.

Sample Depersonalization statement:
I feel I treat clients as if they were impersonal objects.

Sample Personal Accomplishment statement:
I feel I'm positively influencing other people's lives through my work.

The respondent replies to each statement by assessing how often s/he experiences the feeling described, on a scale from "0=Never" to "6=Every day". A slight modification to the MBI form and scoring procedures has made it possible to develop a special Educators' form that focuses specifically on burnout in the teaching profession.

Both forms of the MBI are simple to fill out and take only 10-15 minutes to complete. Both have been favorably analyzed in terms of their reliability and validity (Bodden, 1985; Dowd, 1985; Maslach & Jackson, 1986, ch. 2). They have both been widely used, and the published literature on results of the survey implementations is relatively large (see Maslach & Jackson, 1986, for bibliography). For both the Educators' and the general form of the MBI, published norms exist for comparison with newly surveyed populations. For all these reasons, the MBI has been widely applied in education and other human services professions, including ESL, as we will see in Chapter 3.

The next section of the current chapter presents information about work satisfaction which has been gathered by means of instruments such as the MSQ, JDI, and MBI, complemented by information gathered in other ways that is relevant to the topic of work perceptions and their causes and effects.

Factors Related to Work Satisfaction, Motivation, and Commitment

The characterization of work satisfaction by means of the General Relationship Model will be a complex description of the interrelationships that exist between a set of partially independent and partially interdependent factors in the workplace and in the demographic and personal profiles of employees. Viewed in terms of the Discrepancy Model as an affective response, an individual's judgment of work satisfaction -- i.e., the perception of job and career, the value standards against which they are judged, and the estimation of the discrepancy between the ideal and the actual situation -- will likewise be determined by a variety of factors that interact with the demographic or personality characteristics of the person making the judgment and with the characteristics of the work itself. Either perspective thus leads to a search for similarities and differences among individuals and groups in terms of certain properties that relate to people's attitudes towards work. Although individuals in the same place of employment or the same career may vary in their work satisfaction, work satisfaction studies are also able to uncover consistent trends in assessments of the degree to which employees in a specific field or with certain characteristics feel that their work is meeting their own expectations and needs. The results of such studies are highlighted in this section.

In the 1960's, Weiss et al. (1967) documented the greatest job satisfaction according to the MSQ for those working as Field Representatives (trainers and advisers to retail distributors), Managers (top executives in companies), Licensed Practical Nurses, and Teachers (K-6). A largescale U.S. survey conducted in 1973 by Quinn et al., which indicated little change from a 1969-1970 survey, found greater overall work satisfaction among college graduates and professionals than among other workers. Conversely, the investigations of Francès and Lebras (1982), which employed the JDI with a group of 90 French female employees, all secretaries, obtained negative correlations between the job satisfaction scales and the educational level of respondents, demonstrating that higher qualifications need to be matched by greater challenge and responsibility if educated employees are to be satisfied with their jobs.

It is likely that such differences in work satisfaction as obtained in these studies are due not only to the difference in the nature of the work that the different populations of workers actually perform, but also to differences in the nature of the work that they expect to perform as a result of their personal characteristics and educational background. Studies by Porter

(1962, 1963) demonstrated differences in level and type of work satisfaction for employees at different levels of an organization. Porter maintained that employees at high levels (e.g., executives and managers) have a greater need for esteem, prestige, autonomy, and self-actualization than do employees at lower job levels. For the latter group, needs for job security and social needs appeared to take precedence over the higher level needs for esteem and self-actualization identified by Maslow. Porter's findings were mirrored in those of Inkeles (1960), who compared the responses of professionals and unskilled laborers in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., uncovering a strong desire among the professionals, but not the non-professionals, in both countries for opportunities for stimulation, challenge, and self-expression through work. These findings are probably related to the differences in expectations which define, in the terms used by Francès and Lebras (1982), a higher aspiration level for professionals that may predict to a lower adaptation level.

Bradburn and Noll (1969) found a strong association between the job satisfaction of professionals and their general psychological well-being. Kalleberg (1977) and Schmitt and Pulakos (1985) describe a relationship between work satisfaction more broadly defined, life satisfaction, and general psychological health. Warr and Wall (1975) and Cooper and Marshall (1976) have established relationships between high levels of job stress and psychological, behavioral, and physical disorders, including some serious illnesses. One particular syndrome that has been identified and described as stemming from job-related psychological stress is the pattern of symptoms labeled burnout. Because of

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the high levels of responsibility and close personal contact required in their jobs, those who work in "helping professions" such as medicine or counseling and other client-centered fields may suffer from high levels of job-related stress that lead to low job satisfaction and eventually to burnout. According to the definition of Maslach and Jackson (1986): "Burnout is a syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization [i.e., negative, cynical attitudes and feelings about one's clients] and reduced personal accomplishment that can occur among individuals who do 'people work' of some kind" (p. 1)."

While the burnout syndrome is defined by its psychological manifestations, it is often associated with physical manifestations as well. Research on burnout (e.g., Maslach, 1982; Maslach & Jackson, 1982, 1984, 1986) has indicated that it may have serious effects on the personal as well as the organizational level. For the individual, these include deteriorating work performance, job dissatisfaction, and physical and psychological effects related to insomnia, substance abuse, and family and marital problems. For the organization, the negative effects of burnout include, in addition to the cumulative effects of employees' poor performance, absenteeism, high turnover, and low staff morale.

Although burnout is a potentially health-threatening phenomenon in all kinds of human services work, research has shown that the effects of potentially stressful aspects of employment that can result in job dissatisfaction and burnout are mitigated by factors such as the clarity with which the employee's job-related role and responsibilities are defined, the amount of support received from colleagues and others, and the individual's background characteristics and employment level (Gold, 1985; Maslach & Jackson, 1985; Pines, 1983; Russell et al., 1987; Schwab & Iwanicki, 1982a,b; Schwab et al., 1986). Other research has demonstrated a reduced incidence of reported illness among employees and improved job satisfaction as a result of participatory management and decision-making (Sashkin, 1986). On this basis, Sashkin (1986) argues that administrators should consider shared responsibility among employees for decision-making an ethical imperative.

Work satisfaction and performance are also related to the attitudes of an organization and its administrators towards employees. Employees who feel an organizational commitment will in turn express a commitment to the organization as a psychological bond which drives them to give their full effort at work. Research by Eisenberger et al. (1990) helps to characterize the positive effects of organizational support on employee behavior:

> Our findings are that employees' general perception of being valued and cared about by the organization is positively related to (a) conscientiousness in carrying out conventional job responsibilities, (b) expressed...involvements in the organization, and (c) innovation on behalf of the organization in the absence of anticipated direct reward or personal recognition. (p. 57)

Other studies have shown a positive relationship between level of involvement at work and job satisfaction, and between the morale of co-workers and job satisfaction (see Lofquist & Dawis, 1984, for discussion). Job tenure is also a factor that clearly relates to job satisfaction, as documented by research in the U.S. (Lofquist & Dawis, 1984) and France (Francès & Lebras, 1982).

For many of the factors which researchers have found to be related to work satisfaction, the direction of causation is unclear. Bolton (1986) maintains that "causality is probably bi-directional and interactive in most cases, depending on other critical variables" (p. 258). Age appears to be one of these other critical variables. A study by Mottaz (1987) suggests a positive relationship between age and job satisfaction which is generally confirmed by the results of Lee and Wilbur's (1985) investigation of over 1600 American public sector employees using the JDI. According to the results of Lee and Wilbur, general job satisfaction (as measured by the JDI Job in General scale), is significantly lower among employees under 30 years of age than for those 50 years of age or older. Moreover, the older group are generally more satisfied in the categories of Work, Pay, and Promotions than the younger group.

Lee and Wilbur (1985) interpret their findings for younger workers as follows:

> As a new employee, the young worker must...face the complex tasks of determining organizational performance expectations, understanding how to relate to co-workers and supervisors, determining work and career goals, and managing nonwork/life conflicts.... Successful completion or noncompletion of these

> tasks, combined with the possible discrepancy between desired work characteristics and those actually encountered, could strongly influence job satisfaction. (pp. 789-790)

For older workers, they speculate:

> There are several explanations possible for the greater satisfaction employees 50 years and older experience with the job in general and with components of the work. First, as job tenure increases, employees may be better able to adjust their expectations to the returns the work can provide.... Second, older workers seem to gain esteem simply by virtue of time on the job..., thus contributing to higher levels of satisfaction with the intrinsic characteristics of the work. Work values of older workers may contribute to the difference in satisfaction with extrinsic characteristics of the work.... [For example,] older workers [may] place greater importance on the moral importance of work and less emphasis on the importance of money. (p. 790)

Thus, employees who stay with a certain job or career for a long time will have higher adaptation levels -- and possibly also lower aspiration levels -- than those who are just starting out in that job or career.

The interconnections between job satisfaction and other work-related measures are complex. As Bolton (1986) notes:

> [I]n the 1930s, research on job satisfaction proceeded on the assumption that increased satisfaction would result in greater productivity. It is now generally accepted that just the opposite is true (i.e., successful job performance is one principal determinant of satisfaction with work). (p. 258)

The relationship of job satisfaction and performance can, however, be conceptualized as bi-directional: "a sense of job satisfaction may enhance performance; alternatively, a feeling of success and achievement may be an important source of satisfaction" (Galloway et al., 1985, p. 44).

Working in a job or field where one can excel tends to produce high work satisfaction. This fact points to the importance of a good match between the requirements of a particular job or type of work, on the one hand, and an individual's personal characteristics, educational background, and training, on the other. In his theory of vocational choice, Holland (1973) describes six different personality types as each suited to different careers. In Holland's (1973) view, work satisfaction and achievement are based on a good match between personality type, career choice, and work context.

General career satisfaction and life satisfaction are also related to one's level of satisfaction in a particular job (Orpen, 1978; Scarpello & Campbell, 1983), as are other kinds of off-the-job experiences and activities (Arvey & Dewhirst, 1979; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965; Rousseau, 1978; Singh & Singh, 1980). The research of Scarpello and Campbell (1983), which utilized the MSQ and a separate interview-based instrument, looked at the relationship of (1) individual aspects of job satisfaction, (2) satisfaction with occupational choice, and (3) satisfaction with life off the job. According to their findings, several intrinsic work satisfactions (e.g., ability utilization, achievement, and opportunities for learning) and certain job rewards (e.g., opportunities for advancement, pay-equity, and pay-recognition) are associated with self-reported satisfaction in occupational choice.

For the most part, the aspects that relate to global life satisfaction are, based on the Scarpello and Campbell (1983) results, different and more diverse than those that relate to career satisfaction. Although two aspects of the nature of the work (utility of work and challenging work) predict to both types of satisfaction, one aspect of control over work (flexibility in scheduling hours), two aspects of quality of physical environment (tools and equipment, and work space), the aspect of co-workers, and one aspect of job rewards (pay-personal needs) correlate with self-rated level of global life satisfaction off the job but not with satisfaction in occupational choice. It is noteworthy that pay, which is seen by Scarpello and Campbell's subjects as important for satisfying personal needs off the job, is related to satisfaction with career choice only insofar as it is perceived as satisfying abstract psychological needs for fair treatment (equity) and esteem (recognition).

Improving Work Satisfaction, Motivation, and Commitment

Although the basic theories of work satisfaction and motivation generated by the work of Maslow, Murray, and Herzberg have been criticized as incorrect or imprecise (for criticisms of Herzberg, see King, 1970; of Murray, see Steers, 1987; of Maslow, see Wahba & Bridwell, 1987), the focus on internal satisfiers, the distinction between lower level and higher level needs, and the distinction between satisfiers and dissatisfiers generated in this work have all been highly influential concepts in subsequent work on work satisfaction and motivation. Most importantly, they have given direction to those wishing to formulate concrete proposals towards improving workers' attitudes and motivation on the job. It is to these concrete proposals about how managers can affect the nature and organization of work in ways which increase employees' motivation that we now turn.

Some proposals to affect employee motivation attempt to ensure a strong connection in the minds of employees between their effort and work rewards. These proposals stem from the implication of the Discrepancy Model, as developed in expectancy theory, that people are motivated by the expectation that their hard work will attain them rewards which they desire. As a consequence, employees will have greater expectation of rewards, and therefore greater motivation, when they work in jobs which they believe themselves to be capable of performing. The belief in one's own capability to perform a job is likely when employees have a background and training consistent with the job. The implication is that employees should be assigned to jobs for which they have the requisite skills and, moreover, believe that they have the requisite skills.

In order to gain confidence in their ability to perform successfully in a particular job, employees need to have a clear understanding of what the job entails and of their own skills in relation to it. A manager can help to build the requisite understanding and confidence by making clear what the employee must accomplish on the job and how the employee's skills and work experience can be applied to accomplish the desired performance. This point takes into consideration the importance of goal-setting and role clarity in motivation, as "performance can often be improved by specifying more carefully the direction of behavior" (Steers & Porter, 1987d, p. 580). Where an employee has a successful track record working in a similar position, the previous work experience can generate a belief that the new job will be successfully performed. The confidence and praise of others can also generate a positive expectancy in the employee. Being given a clear briefing on the job and being encouraged that it is well within one's capability can therefore produce a positive expectation of success that generates motivation.

Since people try harder when they think they are capable of a good performance, it is important for managers to work to make the best match of individual employees to the jobs available. However, as Pinder (1987) reminds us, this is not an easy task:

> Consider how difficult it is, in practice, for supervisors completely to appreciate the skill requirements of the jobs

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> their employess must perform, and to recognize that it is the level of skills of the *employees* vis à vis the jobs, not their own skill levels, that matter. Jobs often change with time and as incumbents come and go, making it difficult to keep track of what they require. In addition, supervisors who have performed some or all of the jobs under their purview may forget how difficult these jobs are to newcomers, so they may either overestimate or underestimate the difficulty level of jobs for any of these reasons. Finally, it is important to recognize that employees' skills and abilities change over time, both as a result of formal training and education, as well as from the natural consequences of maturation and simple work experiences. (p. 82)

While an adequate level and range of skills is a necessary condition of motivation to perform, it is by no means a sufficient condition. "In addition, the employee must *believe* that the other circumstances surrounding his[/her] effort are favorable and conducive to his[/her] success" (Pinder, 1987, p. 82). In terms of the manager's responsibility, this means ensuring that the conditions in the workplace -- both the physical conditions created by the workspace, equipment, and supplies, and the psychological atmosphere created by management, support staff, and coworkers -- are supportive, and not obstructive, of the employee's best efforts. Managers can ask whether "the 'climate' within the work group [is] such that it would facilitate task accomplishment or [whether] obvious barriers exist that can be remedied" (Steers & Porter, 1987d, p. 583).

It is also essential for the employee to believe that effort and performance is related to concrete rewards. For this to be true, there needs to be a a clear description of job responsibilities, work standards, career structure, and reward structure which:

- allows for rewards to the most skillful workers, to the degree that this is possible (e.g., does not contradict union regulations) and to the degree that skillful performance is measurable in a consistent and valid way; and
- gives managers clear and consistent guidelines to follow in all actions related to promotions and other rewards.

As Steers and Porter (1987d) point out, motivating employees by basing rewards on performance is difficult if employee organizations or tradition pressures for promotions and raises based on seniority rather than merit. In these authors' view, "[w]here rewards are not based upon performance, we would expect motivational levels to be markedly reduced" (Steers & Porter, 1987d, p. 583).

Other proposals focus on the nature of rewards and their potential to affect motivation. Although in some organizations, employees may have similar needs and values with regard to rewards, in most cases, employee profiles within the same organization can be expected to vary to a moderate or great degree. It is therefore generally good practice to offer a variety of rewards, to ensure that the needs of many different types of employees are met. In some cases, it might be possible to offer a variety of employee compensation programs allowing for different types of compensation in the form of salary, pension plans, health insurance, education allowance, and other benefits (Belcher, 1974). It is also important to reward employees in a timely fashion according to their own values and needs, including their needs for high-level accomplishment and personal development. The general implication is that employers need to recognize different expectations and needs among their employees, to get to know their employees well as individuals, and to attend to their individual characteristics in developing their potential.

Theories of motivation recognize the importance for effective motivational practices of attention to high-level needs, future-oriented goals, and the differential values and expectations of individual employees. Good managers are essentially those who are able to motivate employees to perform at a high level by attending to the needs, goals, values, and expectations of the individual in relation to the group. In the words of McClelland (1976):

> Almost by definition, a good manager is one who, among other things, helps [employees] feel strong and responsible, who rewards them properly for good performance, and who sees that things are organized in such a way that [employees] feel they know what they should be doing. Above all, managers should foster among [employees] a strong sense of team spirit, of pride in working as part of a particular team. If a manager creates and encourages this spirit, his[/her

> employees] certainly should perform better. (p. 102)

Proposals with this sort of orientation treat motivation from a human resources development perspective.

A human resources approach to motivation can be described in terms of its associated assumptions, policies, and expectations:

> Assumptions
>
> 1. Work is not inherently distasteful. People want to contribute to meaningful goals which they have helped to establish.
> 2. Most people can exercise far more creative, responsible self-direction and self-control than their present jobs demand.
>
> Policies
>
> 1. The manager's basic task is to make use of "untapped" human resources.
> 2. He or she must create an environment in which all members may contribute to the limits of their ability.
> 3. He or she must encourage full participation on important matters, continually broadening [employee] self-direction and control:
>
> Expectations
>
> 1. Expanding [employee] influence, self-direction, and self-control will lead to direct improvements in operating efficiency.

> 2. Work satisfaction may improve as a "by-product" of [employees] making full use of their resources. (Steers & Porter, 1987b, p. 16; after Miles, Porter, & Craft, 1966)

Hence, a human resources focus for management and motivational practices benefits the organization as it benefits the individual employee.

As Steers and Porter (1987d) observe:

> if managers truly want to improve performance and work attitudes, they must take an active role in managing motivational processes at work. Managing motivation is conscious, intentional behavior; it is not something that just happens. Any organization desiring to improve attitudes or work behavior must therefore accept responsibility for active involvement and participation if such changes are to be successful. (p. 582)

Managers might also take responsibility for regularly assessing worker's attitudes, "to monitor job attitudes and use such information as a motivational barometer to identify potential trouble spots" (Steers & Porter, 1987d, p. 583).

> Finally, if employee motivational levels -- and consequently performance -- are to be increased, it becomes especially important to involve the employees themselves in a cooperative venture aimed at improving output, for after all they too have a stake in what happens to the organization. Thus, one key factor in motivating employees is to engage them more fully in

> the processes aimed at attaining organizational effectiveness. Without employee cooperation and support, a great deal of managerial energy can be wasted. (Steers & Porter, 1987d, p. 583)

Some proposals which seek to increase organizational involvement and support on the part of employees represent attempts to improve motivation by generating employee commitment (Buchanan, 1974; Martin & Nichols, 1987; Walton, 1987). Commitment-based organizations move away from a traditional, top-down management strategy in which management control is directed at achieving a maximally efficient organization to a more employee-centered participatory concept for management as attempting to achieve goals and productivity through a committed workforce. Martin and Nicholls (1987) describe the committed workforce as a group of employees willing to give "all of themselves while at work" (p. 3) by actions such:

- using all of one's time constructively
- not neglecting details
- making that extra effort
- getting it right the first time
- accepting change
- willingness to try something new
- making suggestions
- co-operating with others
- developing one's talents/abilities

- not abusing trust
- being proud of one's abilities
- seeking constant improvement
- enjoying one's job
- giving loyal support where needed (p. 3)

Martin and Nicholls (1987) maintain that programs aimed at increasing employee commitment succeed by producing a sense of belonging, excitement in the job, and confidence in management leadership. According to Martin and Nicholls, 1987, pp. 14-28), they produce these feelings in employees by:

Belonging

- keeping people informed by open and direct communication;
- involving them on an equal footing in formal and informal functions, including outings, visits and jamborees;
- letting them share in the organization's success (e.g., through options schemes, productivity gain-sharing, and lump-sum bonuses).

Excitement in the job

- making people feel proud (e.g., by making them responsible for quality and by comparison with competitors);
- making them feel trusted (e.g., by peer group control);
- creating accountability for results (e.g., by letting them make their own decisions).

Confidence in management leadership

- exerting authority (e.g., by maintaining standards and objectives);

- showing dedication (e.g., by working with people);
- displaying competence (e.g., by establishing a mission statement and objectives, new management initiatives, and professional standards).

Martin and Nicholls' (1987) model of the committed workforce is illustrated in Figure 1:

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

In the words of Walton (1987):

> In this new commitment-based approach to the work force, jobs are designed to be broader than before, to combine planning and implementation, and to include efforts to upgrade operations, not just maintain them. Individual responsibilities are expected to change as condition change, and teams, not individuals, often are the organizational units accountable for performance. With management hierarchies relatively flat and differences in status minimized, control and lateral coordination depend on shared goals, and expertise rather than formal position determines influence. (p. 519)

Figure 2 outlines some differences between the control-based and commitment-based management strategies:

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[Insert Figure 2 about here]

The philosophy underlying this type of organization is that the advancement of the individual and the advancement of the organization go hand in hand. In organizations focused on gaining employees' commitment, individual employees learn to think of themselves as interdependent units. As shown in Figure 2, rather than being limited to performing one's own individual job, the employee's responsibility is extended to upgrading the performance of the larger system of which s/he is a part. The principles underlying job design in such organizations seek to avoid deskilling and fragmenting work, separating doing and thinking, by enhancing the content of work and emphasizing the whole task, combining doing and thinking. Accountability is focused not on the individiual worker but more often on the work team. In addition, the job one is expected to perform is defined not in a fixed and precise manner but in flexible terms that allow job duties to change as conditions change. Rather than being measured in terms of minimum standards that maintain stable performance, employees are encouraged to perform in terms of higher, "stretch objectives" emphasizing continuous improvement as a dynamic response to changing conditions in the marketplace where the organization's goods or services are traded.

In contrast to traditional management, in which structure is layered, with top-down controls, the commitment-oriented organization tends to be organized in a relatively flat structure with mutual influence systems to ensure a strong voice of employees in organizational decisions. No longer based on rules and procedures, coordination and control develop out of shared goals, values, and traditions. Management prerogatives and positional authority are replaced by an emphasis on problem-solving and the sharing of relevant information and expertise. There is an attempt to downplay status differentials and the inherent hierarchy in the organization by avoiding status symbols such as plush offices or special titles, or by distributing them more widely among employees. In addition, compensation policies, which include gain sharing and profit sharing, are geared less to the provision of individual incentives and more to the creation of equity and the reinforcement of group achievements. Instead of being linked primarily to job evaluation, pay is linked to the individual employee's skills and mastery of the different facets of the work of the organization. In a downturn, cuts in pay or benefits are not concentrated on the hourly payroll but rather require equal sacrifice from employees at all levels.

Unlike the traditional organization in which employees are regarded as one type of variable operational cost, in the organization geared to achieving commitment employees are given assurances of job security, and the organization makes a high commitment to avoid letting employees go, or to assist in reemployment, "perhaps by offering them priority in training and retraining as old jobs are eliminated and new ones created" (Walton, 1987, p. 520). Also unlike the traditional organization, where employee participation is limited to a narrow agenda and restricted in scope -- e.g., to an "open-door policy" for voicing complaints, attitude surveys to get employees' viewpoints on new policies, grievance procedures, and collective bargaining -- such participation is encouraged on a wide range of issues. The benefits rather than the risks of employee participation are emphasized, and new concepts of corporate governance are developed. Secrecy and a highly restricted "need to know" basis for information-sharing is replaced with openness and a wide sharing of information about the state of the organization and its budget. Replacing an adversarial orientation in labor relations emphasizing the conflict of interest between management and employees is a cooperative orientation in which employees and management participate in joint planning and problem-solving on a broad agenda, and in which unions, management, and employees redefine their roles.

Growing out of the human resources development and committed workforce concepts of management are approaches to motivation which focus on efforts to keep employees involved and energized through job enrichment. Recall that in Herzberg's theory (Herzberg, 1976; Herzberg, Mausner, & Snyderman, 1959), employees are motivated by internal motivator factors such as achievement and advancement, not by external hygiene factors such as pay, company policies, supervision, and co-workers. Thus, as observed by Steers and Porter (1987c, p. 460), improving hygiene factors, which are the basis of work dissatisfaction, only results in a neutral state of mind, not in a job satisfaction. Herzberg's theory strongly implies the desirability of job enrichment for improving employees' satisfaction and motivation at work. Where employees are not performing well or are not sufficienctly motivated, jobs can be enriched or redesigned to increase the level of such features as:

- challenge
- responsibility
- personal growth
- advancement
- recognition

Job enrichment does not mean simply enlarging a person's job. Rather, it means increasing the scope, tasks, and skills needed to perform the job. Thus, as a person's job is enriched, the individual gains in professional capabilities, both in terms of diversifying the skills mastered and in terms of adding higher levels of skill.

Davis and Trist (1974) suggest that job enrichment/redesign efforts should be based on an analysis of tasks and their psychological properties. As noted by Steers and Porter (1987c, p. 464), in order for the individual tasks of a job and the overall job itself to be motivating, they should provide:

(1) reasonably demanding content;
(2) an opportunity to learn;
(3) some degree of autonomy or discretion in decisions affecting the job;
(4) social support and recognition;
(5) a feeling that the job leads to a desirable future.

In work redesign, according to Hackman (1987):

> Typically changes are made that provide employees with additional responsibilities for planning, setting up, and checking their own work; for making decisions about methods and procedures; for establishing their own work pace within broad limits; and sometimes for relating directly with the client who receives the results of the work. (p. 469)

Hackman and others (Hackman & Lawler, 1971; Hackman & Oldham, 1980) have developed an approach to motivation that focuses on the internal rewards stemming from the jobs that employees perform. Based on this work, Hackman (1987) describes a job characteristics model of work motivation that includes three basic components: core job dimensions, critical psychological states resulting from these, and personal and work outcomes also resulting from these. The features of each of these components, and their proposed relationships are shown in Figure 3:

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

The psychological states posited as affecting a person's job satisfaction and motivation can be described, drawing on the discussion in Hackman and Lawler (1971), Hackman and Oldham (1980), and Hackman (1987), as follows:

- Experienced meaningfulness: The employee cares about the work and experiences it as important, valuable, and worthwhile;

- Experienced responsibility: The employee feels personally responsible and accountable for the results of the work performed;
- Knowledge of results: The employee receives regular information about the effectiveness of his/her job performance.

As reviewed by Hackman (1987):

> These internal rewards are reinforcing to the individual and serve as incentives for continued efforts to perform well in the future. When the person does not perform well, [s/he] does not experience reinforcement, and [s/he] may elect to try harder in the future so as to regain the rewards that good performance brings. The net result is a self-perpetuating cycle of positive work motivation powered by self-generated rewards. This cycle is predicted to continue until one or more of the three psychological states is no longer present, or until the individual no longer values the internal rewards that derive from good performance. (p. 474)

Hackman (1987, p. 475) defines the five core job dimensions as follows:

> Skill variety: the degree to which a job requires a variety of different activities that involve the use of a number of different skills and talents.
>
> Task identity: the degree to which the job requires completion

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of a whole and identifiable piece of work, that is, doing a job from beginning to end with a visible outcome.

Task significance: the degree to which the job has a substantial impact on the lives or work of other people, whether in the immediate organization or in the external environment.

Autonomy: the degree to which the job provides substantial freedom, independence, and discretion to the individual in scheduling the work and in determining the procedures to be used in carrying it out.

Feedback: the degree to which carrying out the work activities required by the job results in the individual obtaining direct and clear information about the effectiveness of his[/her] performance.

These job dimensions are seen as promoting one of the psychological states as shown in Figure 3 above. Three core job dimensions relate to the psychological state of experienced meaningfulness. These are skill variety, task identity, and task significance. The job dimension of autonomy relates to the pscyhological state of experienced responsibility. In the case of knowledge of results, the third psychological state, the relevant core job dimension is feedback. In Hackman's (1987) view, "a job high in motivating potential must be high on at least one (and hopefully more) of the three dimensions that lead to exprienced meaningfulness, and high on autonomy and feedback as well" (pp. 475-476). As shown in the model of Figure 3, a job high in motivating potential is predicted to result, via the psychological states, in a variety of personal and work outcomes listed as the third component of the figure -- higher internal motivation, high quality performance, high work satisfaction, and low absenteeism and turnover.

As shown at the bottom of Figure 3, the strength of an individual employee's need for personal growth moderates the strength of the relationships between the other variables in the model. Hackman (1987) observes that individuals who have a high need for personal growth

> ...are more likely (or better able) to experience the psychological states when their objective job is enriched than are their low growth need counterparts. [In addition,]...individuals with high growth needs strength will respond more positively to the psychological states, when they are present, than will low growth need individuals. (p. 476)

In Hackman's (1987, p. 469) conception, work redesign incorporates such measures as job rotation, job enrichment, and sociotechnical systems design. Hackman (1987, pp. 477-481) describes a set of action principles for redesigning jobs that flow from this model. These principles are summarized in Figure 4:

[Insert Figure 4 about here]

Principle #1: Forming Natural Work Units. The first principle is that of forming natural work units to increase employee "ownership" of work through increased task identity and task significance. As described by Hackman (1987):

> In creating natural units of work, one must first identify the basic work items.... Then these items are grouped into natural and meaningful categories. (Hackman, 1987, p. 478)

Principle #2: Combining Tasks. The second principle, that of combining tasks, "[takes] existing and fractionalized tasks and [puts] them back together again for form a new and larger module of work" (Hackman, 1987, p. 478). In this way, the employee's sense of task identity is increased. In addition, the worker is given the opportunity to increase the variety of skills employed and mastered in relation to performance of the job.

Principle #3: Establishing Client Relationships. Where workers have no relationship with the client, or ultimate consumer, of their labor, they may not have a have commitment to their work or a high motivation to do the job well. As noted by Hackman (1987):

> By establishing direct relationships between workers and their clients, jobs often can be improved in three ways. First, feedback increases because additional opportunitites are created for the employees to receive direct praise or criticism of their work outputs. Second, skill variety may increase, because of the need to develop and exercise one's interpersonal skills in managing and maintaining the relationship with the

> client. Finally, autonomy will increase to the degree that individuals are given real personal responsibility for deciding how to manage their relationships with the people who receive the outputs of their work. (p. 479)

Principle #4: Vertical Loading. The fourth principle, that of vertical loading, is intended to give employees more responsibility for managing their own work in order to increase autonomy, which will in turn increase feelings of personal responsibility and accountability for work outcomes, as shown in Figure 3. Hackman (1987) notes that there are several ways to give employees responsibility for aspects of their jobs which were formerly reserved for management:

> - letting them decide on work methods;
> - giving workers responsibility for training new or less experienced employees;
> - allowing flexibility in time management;
> - encouraging workers to do their own trouble-shooting and problem-solving rather than calling on the supervisor;
> - providing employees with increased information about and control over financial affairs related to the job and the larger organization. (p. 479)

Principle #5: Opening Feedback Channels. Principle #5 suggests opening feedback channels to make information about performance as directly accessible to the employee as possible, so that employees themselves can have full information from which to draw conclusions about their work. Drawing on the suggestions in Hackman (1987, p. 480), several methods of opening feedback channels can be recommended. First, establishing client relationships, as already described, is one of the ways to provide employees with direct information on performance, from the consumer's point of view. Another way to increase direct feedback on performance is to get employees to take personal responsibility for assessing and monitoring the quality of their own work. In many cases, this will mean some training and assistance to develop reliable, valid, appropriate, and usable methods of evaluation. Employees can also gain access to performance data directly from the supervisor, who can supply records that look at performance over time, under differing work assignments, and as compared to other employees. For this purpose, computer-based summaries and statistically manipulated records of performance can be generated to show long-term trends or factors related to output or other work-related measures.

Concluding Remarks to Chapter One

From this discussion of the work satisfaction literature and the related research on employee motivation, commitment, job stress, and burnout, it can be seen that work satisfaction is a complex phenomenon which relates in complex ways to a variety of other phenomena both inside and outside the work context. The phenomenon of work satisfaction incorporates general and specific notions about work values and about particular job situations. The relevant variables include such factors as type of employment, educational background, job level, job tenure, amount of administrative support, age, personality, and general life satisfaction. The literature on motivation suggests that work satisfaction can be improved by ensuring a close connection between expectations and rewards, by offering rewards geared to meet the needs and values of individual employees, by taking an employee-centered view of motivation as management of human resources, by moving away from top-down management to a more egalitarian and participatory style that seeks to increase employee commitment, and by enriching jobs through attention to internal satisfiers.

In addition to the studies reviewed in this chapter on work in general, there is a growing body of literature on work satisfaction, motivation, commitment, and related areas in teaching that offers useful background for the examination of work in ESL. It is to the examination of this body of literature on teachers' attitudes towards their work that we now turn.

CHAPTER TWO

WORK SATISFACTION, MOTIVATION, AND COMMITMENT IN TEACHING

The Traditional View of Teachers' Work Satisfaction

Work Satisfactions and Dissatisfactions Among Teachers

In studies that have focused on measuring the degree of overall satisfaction with the teaching job or career, the results have traditionally been positive, from the 1960's through the mid-1980's. For example, a study carried out thirty years ago in the U.K. by Rudd and Wiseman (1962) found 92% of teachers satisfied with their jobs. A study carried out in the early 1980's by Galloway et al. (1985) in New Zealand primary schools showed over 80% of teachers highly or moderately satisfied with their jobs. Similar results were obtained in the 1960's in the U.S. by Weiss et al. (1967), who documented a high degree of overall job satisfaction among K-6 teachers -- comparable to that of top level executives -- using the MSQ; in the 1970's by Cole (1977), using the JDI, for K-12 teachers in Colorado; and in the early 1980's by Lester (1985), using a field-specific instrument (the Teacher Job Satisfaction Questionnaire), for K-12 teachers in Illinois. Based on nationwide survey results from the early 1980's, Chase (1985) reported that public school teachers in the U.S. were generally satisfied with their circumstances, though they expressed some dissatisfaction with the perceptions of the community, the quality of inservice training, their lack of involvement in policy decisions, and the non-productivity of faculty meetings.

Although the picture that emerges from research on job satisfaction in teaching has historically been a relatively positive one, some persistently negative characteristics have been present in the majority of studies. Looking at specific sources of dissatisfaction uncovered in the early and more recent studies, in the U.K., Rudd and Wiseman (1962) discovered the main sources of teacher dissatisfaction to be in the areas of salary, relations with co-workers, facilities and equipment, teaching load, teacher training, class size, self-appraisal of inadequacy as a teacher, time available, and status of the profession in society. In a well-known study by Lortie (1975), teachers in the U.S. expressed dissatisfactions with structural aspects of their jobs, such as having insufficient clerical support and heavy workloads, which prevented them from fully realizing the desired intrinsic rewards of teaching. According to Lester's (1985) data, American teachers felt relatively satisfied with supervision, colleagues, responsibility, the work itself, and job security, but relatively dissatisfied with pay, advancement opportunities, and recognition.

Among New Zealand primary school teachers, Galloway et al. (1985) documented three areas of satisfaction -- (1) relationships with colleagues, (2) student performance and attitudes, and (3) professional autonomy -- alongside two areas of dissatisfac-

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tion -- (4) conditions of employment (e.g., salary and promotions) and (5) society's recognition of teachers. A study of Taiwanese K-12 teachers (Chen, 1977) using the MSQ reported high satisfaction scores in the areas of Moral values, Social service, and Co-workers, and low scores in the areas of Advancement, Compensation, and Company policies and practices, as well as in two aspects of Supervision (technical and human relations). In a cross-cultural study using the JDI, Watland (1988) documents a relatively high level of satisfaction among Norwegian and Welsh teachers with the job overall and with the specific job facets of Supervision, Co-workers, and the Work itself, alongside considerable dissatisfaction with Pay and even greater dissatisfaction with Promotions. A comparison of the ratings on the six JDI scales of the Norwegian and Welsh teachers with those of teachers in Alaska, who are relatively well-paid, also reveals considerable dissatisfaction in the area of Promotions.

Except in the area of supervision, where the findings are not consistent, these studies generally show a pattern among teachers of high satisfaction in terms of the intrinsic rewards of the work itself and relationships with co-workers, and low satisfaction in terms of the extrinsic factors of pay and promotion, as well as some other aspects of employment which are extrinsic to the work and which can interfere with job performance and the achievement of psychological satisfactions. Perhaps because "[t]eachers are significantly less likely than non-teachers to believe they can find other employment opportunitites that provide comparable benefits" (Chapman, 1983, p. 40), their most openly voiced work dissatisfactions tend to focus on pay and benefits. However, while pay and benefits are often cited as the primary cause of job dissatisfaction and specific actions such as walkouts and strikes, compensation may be secondary to other concerns having to do with a teacher's position within the institution and the nature of administrative control, as noted by Greabell and Olson (1973). The responses to the Greabell and Olson survey, which came primarily from female elementary school teachers working in the Southeastern part of the U.S., indicated that the female respondents felt role limitations and job-external "career constraints" and that nearly all respondents felt the need for a stronger voice for teachers in the decision making process in areas such as curriculum and educational policy.

In attempting to characterize the underlying causes of teachers' job satisfaction or dissatisfaction, Holdaway (1978) finds that not only concrete structural items -- e.g., class size and scheduling -- but also more abstract status items -- e.g., recognition and autonomy -- are related to job satisfaction in teaching. Schackmuth (1979) speculates that for teachers, "the attainment of a high level of work satisfaction is more directly linked with the nature of the work process itself and not with any features of the work environment that are peripheral to the work process" (p. 231). As support for the motivator-hygiene theory (Herzberg et al., 1959; Herzberg, 1976), Medved (1982) finds intrinsic motivator factors to be important in explaining teachers' level of job satisfaction. However, Firestone and Pennell (1993) observe that many types of "resources are directly tied to the successful accomplishment of work" (p. 508), especially, "an orderly environment, administrative support, adequate physical conditions, instructional resources, and reasonable workloads" (Firestone & Pennell, 1993, p. 508). At the same time, as Sim (1990) notes:

> work conditions per se are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for achieving job satisfaction and work centrality. Work conditions must be complemented by the presence of certain roles and responsibilities and classroom practices. (p. 273)

Other factors mus be considered when looking at teachers' attitudes to work in a particular job and more generally. Long-term commitment or career satisfaction in teaching is based on the teacher's views about the profession and where it stands in relation to other professions. One of the reasons that teachers become dissatisfied with their pay -- and with their job or career situation in general -- is that they compare their own situation to that of others with similar or different responsibilities and education in terms of the equity of rewards (Korman, 1970; Weick, 1966). Moreover, an important fact that has not been sufficiently appreciated in the work satisfaction literature is that for teachers, just as for any other employees, concrete rewards such as pay and promotions and structural items such as administrative control, class size, office space, or secretarial support can take on a symbolic significance, assuming importance as indicators of (1) status relative to other workers and (2) the regard and recognition of those in authority, as well as of members of the larger community within and outside of one's field.

Pay is probably the most obvious example of this symbolic transference, as noted by Poppleton and Riseborough (1990):

> Pay does not have absolute importance in relation to job satisfaction but, if it is perceived to be good (as in West Germany) all other aspects appear to have relatively less significance. If, on the other hand, it is perceived to be poor (as in England), then it is seen as a symptom as much as a cause and associated with other symptoms such as lack of respect in the community. We may say that felt dissatisfactions become monetarised and that there are fewer compensatory factors. (p. 219)

To take a different sort of example, if an employee is dissatisfied with supervision, it may mean that the supervisor's attitudes or actions symbolize disrespect and so come to be associated in the employee's mind with lack of esteem and low status.

In addition to their symbolic value as reflective of status or recognition, the structural items of salary, promotions, job level, or amount of structural support are viewed by some people as direct measures of the extent to which they are realizing their potential. To return to the supervisory example, a person's perception of unfavorable attitudes or behavior on the part of a supervisor might be felt to be interfering with the realization of the individual's potential. In this way, concrete external rewards and structural aspects of a work environment become part of a psychological complex of abstract internal satisfiers (and dissatisfiers) of higher level needs for esteem and self-actualization. The conclusion to be drawn is that pay, promotions, supervision, and other conditions in the workplace must receive a complex interpretation in relation to the work satisfaction of teachers.

Chapman and Lowther (1982) propose that teachers will be satisfied in their careers to the extent that their personal values, abilities, and accomplishments match their expectations of the values, abilities, and accomplishments that should characterize a teacher. Their results, which are mirrored in those of Engelking (1986), show that teachers' professional accomplishments and the recognition they receive from administrators and supervisors have a strong positive relationship to career satisfaction, while their self-rated abilities and skills show a definite, though weaker, relationship to career satisfaction. Chapman (1983) reports that this latter relationship is significant for high school teachers but not for elementary teachers, for whom satisfaction is significantly related to their evaluation of the importance of certain professional skills (e.g., effective writing and speaking).

The fact that higher job satisfaction is found among (1) teachers who can point to concrete achievements in teaching, (2) those who have received special recognition for their work, and (3) those who are confident in their abilities and skills as teachers underscores the importance of competence and the perception of competence, both by self and others, in teacher satisfaction. This conclusion is reinforced in a study of secondary teachers in Singapore by Sim (1990), who maintains that "competent teachers enjoy higher levels of job satisfaction" (p. 273), and in a study of elementary school teachers in Illinois by Schackmuth (1979), who concludes that "as the professional self-image of the individual teacher increases, his/her level of work satisfaction will also increase" (p. 231). It has also been observed that teachers who improve in their teaching practices and who are able to develop well-organized, smoothly functioning classrooms increase in their sense of self-efficacy and job satisfaction (Evertson, 1985; Kounin, 1970), as their student performance also increases (Gage & Berliner, 1984).

A Profession in Transition?

What was for a long time regarded as a traditionally positive picture of job satisfaction in teaching is clouded by the findings of some recent investigations. A recent study by Travers and Cooper (1991) reporting on 1,800 teachers in the U.K., for example, finds that teachers have the lowest job satisfaction of any of the professional groups studied, with two-thirds actively considering leaving the teaching profession at some time in the five years previous to the study. According to Travers and Cooper (1991, p. 3), teachers in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland are the least satisfied of the teachers surveyed in the U.K. Among all the U.K. groups, the most common sources of dissatisfaction are work hours, physical working conditions, relations between teachers and administrators, recognition for work, school management, opportunities for promotion, and pay (Travers & Cooper, 1991, p. 1). Among the teachers surveyed, the greatest dissatisfaction is registered in the category of pay and the second greatest in the category of promotions.

The results of this study, which made it into the British newspaper The Independent (Clement, 1991) and which are strikingly negative when compared with the results of previous research on the work concerns of teachers in the U.K., are paralleled to some degree by the findings of research conducted on teachers in other contexts. For example, research on secondary teachers in Western Australia, using the same instrument as was employed in the Galloway et al. (1985) study, uncovered "disturbingly high levels" of psychological distress -- "at least twice that for the general population" (Punch & Tuettemann, 1991, p. 66). Research by Wong (1989) documents a low level of commitment and job satisfaction among secondary teachers in Hong Kong, while Lortie (1986) reports declining job satisfaction among teachers in the U.S., co-occurring with declining extrinsic rewards and higher levels of education. An association between high education level and low job satisfaction among teachers is confirmed in a study by Pelsma et al. (1987). Such findings as these may indicate a trend -- possibly accelerating from the mid 1980's onward -- toward lower job satisfaction in the teaching profession, as teachers become better educated and more qualified, and so also come to have higher expectations in connection with their work.

Because most of these studies used different instruments and procedures for gathering information and did not generally ask the same questions, it is somewhat difficult to generalize or compare their findings, especially across different countries and cultures. An exception is the Watland (1988) study, which stands out in its use of a standardized instrument to compare teachers' work perceptions across several countries. Since ESL is an international occupation, we are particularly interested in cross-cultural or global views of teaching as a profession. A new group of studies supplements and extends the information on teachers' work perceptions reported above by yielding comparable data from several different countries, all gathered by means of the same instrument and procedures. This group of investigations is treated here under a separate heading as a unified and comprehensive source of recent and valid data on teachers' concerns that is especially relevant as a context for the examination of ESL teachers' concerns.

New Data on the Work Satisfaction of Teachers Around the Globe

A group of studies using the same instrument (as described in Chapter One) for cross-cultural comparison of teachers' work perceptions appeared as a special double issue of the journal, Comparative Education, in 1990. This group of studies includes five-country comparisons of the perceptions of American, British, West German, Japanese, and Singaporean secondary teachers, as well as studies of Canadian, Israeli, and Polish teachers using the same framework.

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The Five-Country Data

Contrary to the popular Western conception that teaching is mainly a female profession, the Consortium five-country data show a preponderance of males in the secondary school survey samples for all countries except one. The exceptional case is the Singaporean sample, in which just over two-thirds of the respondents are female. In contrast, in the West German sample, somewhat less than two-thirds are male. The Japanese sample exhibits the greatest difference in numbers of men and women teachers, with males comprising just over three-fourths of the sample. The U.S. and Britain are the only countries which have fairly equal numbers of males and females among those who responded to the survey, with the males in both cases outnumbering the females by about 10%.

The personal profile of the American teachers, who all came from Michigan secondary schools, is different from that of the other four teacher groups who participated in the Consortium survey in several respects. The survey data, as reported by Poppleton (1990, pp. 184-187) indicate that the U.S. group has higher qualifications, more teaching experience, more varied kinds of teaching experiences, more other work experience, and longer job tenure in their current teaching position than any of the other groups surveyed. They are also more likely than any of the other teacher groups to indicate jobs in educational administration or business in their future plans.

The U.S. teacher group also stands out in the results of the

Consortium survey in that they show the highest job satisfaction ratings of all the groups surveyed (Poppleton, 1990, p. 206) -- significantly higher than for Singapore, the U.K., West Germany, or Japan. The survey data also suggest that teachers in the United States find it relatively easy to carry out teaching practices -- especially as compared to the Japanese teachers surveyed -- and that they employ more of the positive teaching practices identified in the survey instrument than do the teachers in the other four countries of the main (five-country) study (Menlo et al., 1990, p. 232). The motivation of the surveyed U.S. teacher group can be described in terms of certain positive practices as these influence their relationships with students:

> The development of warm, personal relationships with students is the second-strongest influence on professional life quality for US teachers, but it is closely interwoven with their major emphasis on using a variety of approaches to gain student interest and participation. This would suggest that working in an interrelated manner on motivation and relationships with students is their major energy source. (Menlo et al., 1990, p. 245).

The teachers surveyed by the Consortium in the U.S. are most similar (as might be expected) to teachers in the U.K. and most different from (as might not be expected) the West German group -- who at any rate represent mainly "outliers" as compared to all of the other surveyed groups. The U.S. and U.K. groups have identical means for work centrality, and higher means for work centrality than the other three countries surveyed. They also have identical means for stress, also higher than any of the other three countries in the survey. Like the American teachers surveyed, the British teachers "attached greater than average importance to school/community relationships while rating the standing of the profession in the community well below average" (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990, p. 219). According to Poppleton and Riseborough (1990), they also "shared with American colleagues the importance of what we have called 'job scope' which combines the perceived autonomy of the teacher with the opportunities for participation that the school provides" (p. 219). They furthermore, "like the American teachers (and unlike the Japanese) were decidedly lukewarm about being involved in administration...." (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990, p. 220).

In other respects, the British teachers are unlike their American counterparts and indeed, are exceptional in relation to all of the other nationality groups surveyed. As compared to teachers in all of the other four countries, the British teachers "recorded the lowest level of morale (24), effective school policy-making (23) and co-operation (22) while giving them the highest degree of importance" (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990, p. 219). Moreover, the British group "gave by far the greatest emphasis to the importance of career advancement, especially promotion opportunities, by comparison with the opportunities perceived to be available" (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990, p. 219). In general, the British teachers seem less satisfied in their work than the Americans. "Their depressed profile (by comparison with the American one) supports the picture of a profession in transition from considerable autonomy to greater centralised control, from confident professionality to greater stress anxiety, from job security to reduced opportunitites and uncertainty" (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990, p. 219).

The results for teachers in the U.S. investigation can also be compared to those for the Consortium surveys conducted in Singapore, West Germany, and Japan. According to path analysis carried out by Sim (1990), "the patterns of relationship both in terms of direction and size of impact are remarkably alike for the Singapore and USA data, suggesting perhaps the universality of professional concerns amongst teachers" (p. 273). Nevertheless, the survey data also indicate differences in the two groups:

> Singapore teachers...enjoy more job satisfaction than their USA counterparts via their classroom practices, which are also more congruent with their work conditions.... As far as work centrality is concerned, USA teachers appear to be more able than Singapore teachers in relating their roles and responsibilities to the various facets of work success.... (Sim, 1990, p. 274)

The Consortium data for West Germany show a much less committed group of teachers than those in the U.S., with the data for the German group supporting an interpretation of a "comparative lack of concern" about the issues that concern their counterparts in other countries (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990, p. 218) and "an erosion of teachers' general orientation towards their profession" (Lissmann & Gigerich, 1990, p. 280).

In the Consortium data, the Japanese group have a lower mean rating for job satisfaction than U.S., British, West German, or Singaporean teachers, though Ninomiya and Okato (1990, p. 252)) remark that this comparatively low result should be interpreted "with a grain of salt," as it may reflect a tendency to understatement which is characteristically Japanese. At the same time, as Ninomiya and Okato (1990) point out:

> The working conditions for Japanese teachers may be worse than those in other countries.... Notably, Japanese teachers' ratings on 'collegial support', 'work-load', and 'material reward' are the lowest among the five countries surveyed.... (p. 253)

Moreover, the Japanese teachers' ratings on individual job facets suggest that they have a harder time carrying out their teaching practices than any of the other four groups of teachers. As far as the factors related to job satisfaction:

> Japanese teachers are likely to consider working conditions as most important for their job satisfaction, followed by classroom practices.... Among the factors contributing to working conditions, they regard 'management/morale', 'material rewards' and 'a reasonable work-load' as important for their job satisfaction. Japanese teachers are also more likely to emphasize 'personal and professional development' and 'having administra-

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> tive responsibility' for their job satisfaction than teachers in other countries. (Ninomiya & Okato, 1990, p. 253)

The Japanese Consortium data (Ninomiya & Okato, 1990, p. 215) confirms that teachers whose expectations for teaching are well-matched to their on-the-job experiences express higher overall job satisfaction.

The cross-cultural comparisons across these five countries allow several generalizations. The significance of the teacher-student relationship in the work satisfaction of teachers seems to be a universal. As came out of the Consortium surveys: "Of particular similarity/minimal difference between US teachers and those from England, Germany, Japan and Singapore is the high importance for job satisfaction which they place on the development of a warm personal relationship with their students" (Menlo et al, 1990, p. 237). Other general findings show the same dissatisfactions across all, or nearly all, the surveyed groups. All of the groups except the West German teachers give low ratings in the category of pay; the ratings for England and Japan are especially low.

Consortium Data on Other Countries

In surveying a group of Canadian secondary teachers in Ontario, using the same Consortium survey instrument, Ball and Stenlund (1990) find that "their overall attitude towards their work appears strongly positive" (p. 330). According to their report, as compared to Japanese and American secondary teachers, "this sample of teachers appeared to be more strongly motivated by success at their work" (Ball & Stenlund, 1990, p. 321). Thus, the Canadian teachers give importance in their job satisfaction to in-classroom conditions such as "[f]reedom to decide how to do the work, responsiveness of students, materials and equipment, and class size" (Ball & Stenlund, 1990, p. 326). While this group of teachers appear to be satisfied with their relationships with colleagues and with their pay, they are not similarly satisfied with promotional opportunities, nor with internal support or community support for their position as teachers (Ball & Stenlund, 1990, pp. 325-326). As compared to the surveyed teachers in the U.S. and especially in Japan, the Canadian teachers relate teaching practices less to work centrality (p. 328).

The Israeli study (Kremer-Hayon & Goldstein, 1990) yields lower satisfaction scores than any of the other five countries just reviewed except for Japan. At the same time, the authors report lower stress among Israeli teachers than among any of the five teacher groups described above, as the Israelis are the only group to have have lower mean scores for stress than for job satisfaction. Kremer-Hayon and Goldstein (1990, p. 294) speculate that lower stress may be a result of strong unions, which ensure job security for Israeli teachers, and/or of the comparatively high stress conditions in which Israelis live: "They are used to living in stressful conditions and, consequently job-related stress becomes secondary" (Kremer-Hayon & Goldstein, 1990, pp. 294-295).

In his investigation of job satisfaction among Polish teachers, Wiśniewski (1990) reports improvements in job satisfaction from 1987 to 1988. Wiśniewski (1990, pp. 302-305) also reports that the Polish teachers show higher job satisfaction when they experience independence and decision-making power in their own teaching, participation in curriculum and policy making, the ability to experiment, support for innovation, a helpful supervisor who creates a cooperative atmosphere, good quality materials and equipment, clear roles and responsibilities, some administrative responsibility (but not too much), self-directed continuing development of expertise in the subject taught, and support from the parents of their students.

Summary of Consortium Findings

Although the findings across the different countries differ in many respects, the Consortium studies uncovered some common perceptions of work among the teacher groups surveyed. The first general finding is the relatively high value obtained for work centrality across all of the surveyed groups: "The mean scores for work centrality are higher than those of satisfaction and stress in all the countries compared" (Kremer-Hayon & Goldstein, 1990, p. 294). The high value assigned to work centrality would seem to indicate that the Consortium surveys have tapped into a relatively committed group of professionals. Although they are highly centered on their work, teachers around the world are generally not satisfied with their occupational status, as the other two major findings of the Consortium studies indicate. According to Poppleton and Riseborough (1990), "teachers in all countries are unhappy with their status as professionals as defined by their standing in the community" (p. 224). In addition, all groups rate opportunities for career advancement low.

Variables Related to Teachers' Work Satisfaction

In addition to differences across national school systems and cultures, several other variables have been found to be significant in their relationship to teachers' work satisfaction. These include grade level, professional status, job tenure, age, and gender.

Grade Level

In some studies, work satisfaction has been found to vary with the grade level of the teacher's position, such that teachers working at lower grade levels express greater job satisfaction than those teaching at higher grade levels. In the U.K., Rudd and Wiseman (1962) discovered that nursery and elementary school teachers were more satisfied with their jobs than middle and high school teachers, and Travers and Cooper (1991) observe that "[o]verall satisfaction is greater for primary teachers than for their contemporaries in secondary schools" (p. 4). In the

U.S., Cole (1977) found that elementary teachers were more satisfied than either middle or senior high teachers with their jobs overall. Cole also discovered differing levels of satisfaction with specific aspects of the job, according to the JDI, for the teachers at the three levels. In Cole's study, elementary teachers displayed higher satisfaction than the other two groups with the Work and the Co-Workers scales of the JDI, while senior high school teachers were more dissatisfied than the other two groups in the category of Supervision.

Professional Status

Travers and Coooper (1991, p. 4) find that "regular" school teachers in the U.K. are less satisfied in their jobs than are teachers in managerial positions, such as head teachers. The research of Sim (1990, p. 274) indicates that two aspects of the Singaporean teachers' professional status relates to their attitudes towards work. First of all, the teachers in his study who are non-graduates have higher job satisfaction than those who are graduates, in spite of the fact that the latter group has much higher pay. This result perhaps reflects the higher expectations of graduates as compared to non-graduates. Sim's second finding is that teachers belonging to more professional organizations have higher work centrality "and are also generally more positive in their perceptions of Work Conditions, Roles and Responsiblities and Classroom Practices" (Sim, 1990, p. 274). This result can perhaps be compared to that of Wiśniewski (1990), who finds that in Poland, "[f]requent reading of professional literature seems to be closely bound up with teacher job satisfaction" (p. 304).

Job Tenure

According to Wiśniewski's (1990) results for Polish teachers:

> High job satisfaction is shown most often by teachers who have had their jobs for a long time (over 20 years); it is less noticeable among those who have been working for a comparatively short time (up to 10 years). It is least frequent in the group working in the 10 to 20 years division. (p. 303)

Whether or not this specific result applies in other countries, the greater job satisfaction for those with the longest tenure is a result consistent with studies of other employee groups, as reviewed in Chapter One.

Age

As in the case of other workers, age is an important variable affecting job satisfaction among teachers -- partly as a result of long job-tenure, but also as an independent effect.

Wiśniewski (1990, p. 302) finds the same curvilinear correlational pattern for age and job satisfaction as he did for job tenure. Again, it is not clear whether this specific result is peculiar to the Polish context of his study. As indicated in the Consortium results for Japanese teachers: "Younger groups of teachers are less likely to be satisfied with the job, partly because they feel some difficulty in adapting to their working environments" (Ninomiya & Okato, 1990, p. 251). The implication that older teachers have a higher adaptation level as compared to younger teachers is consistent with the conclusion drawn in relation to other employees in Chapter One. Speculating on the fact that the older Singaporean teachers have more favorable work perceptions than their younger colleagues, Sim (1990) observes that the goals of the younger group,

> albeit more desirable and challenging, are nevertheless less easily satisfied or require conditions less easily attained. One interpretation of the age-group differences in the present study is that the older teachers are probably more complacent, while the younger teachers have higher self-expectations. (pp. 274-275)

In a study of 182 teachers in face-to-face interviews, Lowther et al. (1985) found evidence of an increase in job satisfaction, job rewards, and the importance of extrinsic motivators with increasing age. In addition, while they elicited no differences in job-related values among younger and older teachers, Lowther et al. (1985) reported that intrinsic satisfactions are less salient for older teachers than for younger ones -- even though the older group was comparatively more satisfied than the younger with the intrinsic aspects of their work such as level of interest and fulfillment. This result lends support to Sim's notion of older teachers as being more complacent than younger ones. It also suggests that younger teachers are more idealistic and motivated to a greater degree by the instrinsic qualities of teaching work than older teachers, for whom concrete rewards assume a greater importance.

Gender

Poppleton & Riseborough (1990) performed statistical comparisons of gender and length of teaching experience in relation to job satisfaction and stress. According to their findings:

> in all countries, gender [as compared to length of teaching experience] was by far the more discriminating variable as far as job satisfaction was concerned, no significant differences were noted for either variable in the case of work centrality but interaction effects occurred in the case of stress whereby levels of stress were greater for men during the first 10 years of teaching and for women thereafter. (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990, p. 217)

In the Consortium data, female teachers in the U.S. and U.K. have higher job satisfaction than male teachers (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990, p. 217) -- a finding confirmed in the Travers and Cooper (1991, p. 3) study -- and give strong responses to questions about work centrality (Ball & Stenlund, 1990, p. 327). In the Singaporean group, male teachers generally have more positive perceptions than females of work conditions, roles and responsibilities, and classroom practices (Sim, 1990, p. 274). Gender differences also appear in the Israeli sample: "In comparison with men, women experience a significantly higher amount of stress and of satisfaction and a lower amount of work centrality" (Kremer-Hayon & Goldstein, 1990, p. 291).

In the Japanese survey group, no sex-related differences were uncovered for work centrality (Ball & Stenlund, 1990, p. 327), although in the Japanese group, "male teachers are significantly more likely to be satisfied with their present job than female teachers" (Ninomiya & Okato, 1990, p. 251). It seems that teachers who work as "independent agents" in Japan -- i.e., single women or men -- are more satisfied than those who work as teachers and who also have to perform duties as a housewife. As Ninomiya and Okato (1990) observe: "Females are still assigned their stereotyped roles at home although they work outside the home" (p. 255). This may be the reason that "teachers whose salary is 100% of the total household annual income are more likely to be satisfied with the job than those whose salary is only 50% of the total income" (Ninomiya & Okato, 1990, p. 251).

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Motivation and Commitment in Teaching

Most people go into teaching for intrinsic rewards in the way of intellectual satisfaction in their subject area, work process, and human interaction. Thus, the main motivation to a teaching career is the satisfaction which prospective teachers hope to gain from imparting knowledge to others in their area of interest and expertise. On the whole, these same motives are relevant to sustaining teachers' long-term motivation and commitment to teaching, though their satisfaction may be affected by a host of individual and contextual factors, including:

Individual Characteristics: work-related attributes (e.g., education, career interests) and personal characteristics (e.g., personality, age, life satisfaction);
Work Process (e.g., nature of work, difficulty, degree of control, level of responsibility);
Work Context (e.g., peer relations, supervision, work load, work climate, physical setting, compensation and other types of other-administered rewards);
Societal Context (e.g., image of school system and individual school, of subject area, and of teaching and teachers).

A good match between a teacher's individual characteristics and the characteristics of the job in the way of work process lays the groundwork for high work satisfaction, motivation, and commitment. However, where the work context within the department or school is not a positive one, its negative aspects can work against the high satisfaction, motivation, and commitment that are related to personal characteristics and work process. Demotivating aspects of the job context may be further exacerbated by the negative images of a society or culture as regards teaching and teachers or a particular educational system, school, or subject area.

Given the increasing recognition of the complexity of teaching work and the "considerable disagreement on what outcomes should be accomplished and great difficulty inspecting and controlling work" (Firestone & Pennell, 1993, p. 489), Firestone and Pennell (1993) propose that teachers' voluntary commitment to their work is crucial to their job satisfaction and performance. Firestone and Rosenblum (1988) maintain that teachers may be committed to different aspects of their work, such as their students, their school, or their teaching, and that the orientation of their commitment is related to their goals and performance. Clearly, teachers' lack of commitment to their students diminishes both teachers' and students' motivation to perform at a high level, as can be noted in the minimal work performed by most substitute teachers and the classes they temporarily manage. On the other hand, while a commitment to a particular group of students may create a good classroom atmosphere, a teacher's organizational commitment or commitment to teaching may be more strongly geared to academic achievement (Firestone & Rosenblum, 1988; Kushman, 1992). When teachers' commitment to their teaching job is low, academic performance and achievement, both their own and the students', are affected. When teachers are committed to the students and/or to teaching but not to a particular job or school, they may consciously or unconsciously subvert official curricular goals. Where teachers are co-opted or otherwise forced (e.g., by economic necessity) to teach in subjects, in schools, or to types of students other than those for which they are prepared by education and are otherwise suited by interest, personality, etc., their motivation and commitment to teach can be expected to suffer.

Thus, from the perspective of the students and of the individual classroom and school, it would seem important to gain a teacher's commitment in all three of these dimensions, i.e., students, school, and teaching. From the perspective of profession, it would seem important as well to gain the teacher's commitment to the larger field of the subject area specialization and to teaching in the specialization as a career. Where a particular job or teaching in general is seen as temporary--e.g., until something "better" comes along--a teacher is likely to "make do" with textbooks, rather than attempting to create original lessons customized for a particular group of students, and to "get by" with ready-made, pre-planned lessons, rather than adjusting the lesson to meet students' needs or unexpected occurrences during class. Uncommitted teachers will not be motivated to do their best work nor to attempt innovative practice to continue to develop their knowledge and skills. "In sum," as Firestone and Pennell (1993) state, "some mix of commitments to the organization, profession, and students is necessary for teachers to have the motivation to professionalize and pursue changes in their practice while coping with the complex demands these changes present" (p. 493).

The motivation and commitment of teachers are increased when teaching work includes the job dimensions of skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback. Although teaching is generally thought to be a type of work that is high in skill variety, task identity, and task significance (Firestone & Pennell, 1993, pp. 495-496), a teacher who teaches in the same specialized sub-area of the curriculum for many years may in fact develop a limited perspective on the job. Such a limited perspective may mean that:

- the variety of skills being applied to teaching is reduced, due to routinization of classroom procedures;
- the sense of task identity is lost, as teaching focuses on only a narrow area of the curriculum; and
- the sense of task significance is reduced, as the connection between the teacher's narrow focus and the students' larger career or life concerns becomes more distant.

As a consequence of this narrow perspective, teachers' motivation and commitment may suffer. Hence, some degree of change and innovation seem important for sustaining teacher commitment.

Although they may not have a strong voice in decisions beyond their own classrooms, teachers often have considerable independence in implementing curriculum in their own classes. Thus, while their level of participation in higher level decision-making may not be great, they generally have a fair degree of autonomy within their own classrooms -- higher than that in many other fields requiring a similar educational qualification (Ellis & Bernhardt, 1992). According to Firestone and Pennell's (1993) review of studies, autonomy is related to teacher commitment and work satisfaction. Nevertheless, these authors suggest that "autonomy" is sometimes used by teachers as a euphemism for isolation, and that autonomy needs to be linked to participatory decision-making to avoid the negative effects of isolation, particularly, the lack of commitment to the department or larger organization. Indeed, Firestone and Pennell (1993, p. 500) believe that participatory decision-making may be able to substitute, at least in part, for autonomy in promoting teacher commitment.

Johnson (1990) suggests that teachers who work in schools which allow them a strong voice in curriculum and other types of higher level decisions -- e.g., private schools -- seem to develop a higher level of commitment than teachers who work in less participatory schools -- e.g., public schools. Research by Firestone and Rosenblum (1988), Kushman (1992), and Louis and Smith (1992), as well as a number of other studies reviewed by Firestone and Pennell (1993, pp. 501-502) -- suggests that teacher commitment is related to organizational participation in decision-making. However, teachers typically have only a selective interest in organizational decision-making, focusing on such areas as curriculum and staff development (Smylie, 1992), and only a limited willingness to participate in organizational decision-making, depending in large part on their view of school leadership and their workload (Corbett, Dawson, & Firestone, 1984; Kushman, 1992). Where workload is high and administrative support is low, teachers may limit their participation in activities other than classroom teaching.

Little research has been conducted on teachers' responses to and use of different forms of feedback, "[a]lthough there are indications that teachers have more problems than workers in other fields getting clear feedback about their work" (Firestone & Pennell, 1993, p. 503). According to Firestone and Pennell (1993):

> Feedback can enhance commitment to teaching and to the organization by providing information that confirms successful instructional efforts and signals problem areas needing change. Teachers have seven primary sources of feedback: students and their work, formal administrator and formal peer evaluations, and informal interactions with administrators and peers, parents, and standardized tests. (p. 503)

The first of these is the most important form of feedback -- and indeed, virtually the only meaningful form of feedback -- to teachers (Firestone & Pennell, 1993; Johnson, 1990; Kottkamp, Provenzo, & Cohn, 1986). In the view of Firestone and Pennell (1993):

> In general, it appears that as feedback becomes less direct--that is, come from sources other than students--its influence on teacher motivation and commitment becomes less clear. Addi-

> tionally, as feedback becomes less information oriented and more evaluative, teachers feel less responsible for their instructional choices and, consequently, less committed. (p. 505)

Stress and Burnout in Teaching

Considering the amount of time and energy that teachers generally expend in relation to their jobs, lack of satisfaction in work is a matter that demands attention. As noted by Kremer-Hayon and Goldstein (1990):

> The expectation of deriving satisfaction from work is only natural, especially among professionals who have devoted years of study in order to be qualified. Dissatisfaction with work often results in a tendency to be absent from work, in aggressive behavior, in an inclination to leave the job or in pyschological withdrawal from work. Indeed, a relatively large number of successful teachers leave teaching at an early stage in their careers. In cases where dissatisfied teachers remain on the job, their dissatisfaction impairs their performance. (p. 287)

In some cases in which dissatisfactions are not adequately addressed, they result in high levels of stress. Although stress can be a positive force in motivating performance (Kremer-Hayon & Goldstein, 1990; Wiśniewski, 1990), when stress is associated with dissatisfaction at work, it becomes a negative force which can have serious destructive consequences for teachers and for the profession at large.

Because of its potential to influence the mental and physical health of teachers and their job performance, "it is important to understand the nature of the relationship between work satisfaction and stress and what kinds and levels of stress are functional and non-functional for the efficacy of teachers in their profession" (Menlo & Poppleton, 1990, p. 174). Friesen et al. (1988) maintain that teaching is by nature stressful work:

> The daily interactions with students and co-workers and the incessant and fragmented demands of teaching often lead to overwhelming pressures and challenges which may lead to stress. Where work stress is unrelenting, some negative physiological, psychological, and behavioral consequences may result. (p. 9)

Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1977) define teacher stress as "a response by a teacher of negative affect (such as anger, anxiety or depression) accompanied by potentially pathogenic physiological changes (such as increased heart rate, or release of adrenocorticotrophic hormone into the bloodstream) as a result of the demands made upon the teacher in his [/her] role as a teacher" (p. 299). According to these authors:

> The extent to which the demands made upon a teacher result in teacher stress depends on numerous factors. Examples of such factors which may be important are (1) the degree of role

> conflict or role ambiguity involved, (2) the degree to which the teacher perceives that he [/she] is unable to meet the demands made upon him [/her], (3) the degree to which the teacher's ability to meet the demands is impaired by poor working conditions, (4) the degree to which the demands are new or unfamiliar, and (5) the degree to which the teacher is already experiencing stress resulting from sources outside his [/her] role as a teacher. (Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1977, p. 299)

As observed by Dunham (1976), role conflict and role ambiguity among teachers can lead to a high level of job dissatisfaction which is manifested as stress. Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1979) document a high negative correlation between teachers' self-reported level of stress and job satisfaction. This negative correlation means that teachers who experience high job satisfaction also experience low levels of stress. It also means that those who experience low job satisfaction experience high levels of stress as well. Pelsma et al. (1987) confirm a high correlation among teachers between job stresses and factors rated low on job satisfaction measures. A study by Seldin (1987) reveals high levels of job stress among college professors, while Travers and Cooper (1991) report chronic stress and fatigue among British teachers at elementary and secondary levels. Travers and Cooper (1991) relate these symptoms to a variety of job pressures, especially:

> lack of support from the Government; the constant changes

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> taking place within the profession; the lack of information as to how the changes are to be implemented; society's diminishing respect for the teaching profession; the move towards a 'National Curriculum'; a salary that is out of proportion to workload; having to produce assessments of pupils; dealing with basic behavioural problems; lack of non-contact time and the fact that being a good teacher does not necessarily mean promotion. (p. 2)

Based on the results of their investigation in Western Australia, Punch and Tuettemann (1991) identify four main types of stressful situations, or stressors, that are related to distress among secondary teachers: "Teachers reporting high levels of these stressors -- i.e., who considered that they frequently had to deal with such situations as lack of adequate facilities, student misbehavior, societal pressures and excessive working hours -- are 'at risk' of school-related psychological distress" (p. 67). According to these authors:

> Being affected by more stressors steadily increases the likelihood of teachers experiencing psychological distress. At four stressors, it is 50 per cent or greater.... Exposure to still other stressful factors would presumably further increase the likelihood of severe psychological distress.... (Punch & Tuettemann, 1991, p. 69)

It can be concluded that both the nature and the number of stressful factors to which teachers are exposed will affect their psychological state and hence their level of satisfaction and stress on the job.

As Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1977) observe:

> [T]he distinction between sources of stress and the manifestations of stress may often be unclear. For example, poor human relations between teachers may be the result of general work overload, and thus be considered manifestations of stress, or they may be sources of stress themselves. Physical illnesses, once they occur, can become sources of stress, either directly, because of concern over one's health, or indirectly, because of financial implications. (pp. 303-304)

Problems in the classroom may likewise be both cause and effect of teacher stress (Blase, 1981; Litt & Turk, 1985), while conversely, a well-functioning classroom would appear to be related, at least in part, to a positive attitude towards work (Holdaway, 1978; Kounin, 1970; Lortie, 1975) and to relatively low levels of stress on the part of the teacher. In the observation of Good and Brophy (1987):

> Teachers who enjoy their work show it in their classroom behavior. They come to class prepared and present lessons in ways that suggest interest and excitement in promoting learning. Student difficulties and confusion are perceived as challenges to be met with professional skills, not as irritations. When

> students do achieve success, the teacher shares in their joy. (p. 148)

Such observations suggest a possible causal relationship between teacher satisfaction and teacher performance that might impact student performance (as discussed in more detail below).

Job stress in teaching may lead to "teacher burnout" (Dworkin, 1987; Ornstein, 1983; Schwab, 1986). Recall that burnout is a result of chronic stress arising from the frequent interactions and close contact with others that is required in "people work." Teachers suffering from burnout feel drained and emotionally exhausted: "When these feelings become chronic, teachers find that they can no longer give of themselves to students as they once could" (Schwab, 1986, p. 18). Burned out teachers also suffer from depersonalization, a "callous or even dehumanized perception of others" (Maslach & Jackson, 1986, p. 1). In Schwab's (1986) characterization:

> Teachers who no longer have positive feelings about their students are experiencing the second component of teacher burnout, Depersonalization. Among the many ways teachers can display indifferent, negative attitudes towards their students are: using derogatory labels (for example, 'they are animals'); exhibiting cold or distant attitudes; physically distancing themselves from students (for example, barricading themselves behind their desk); and 'tuning out' students through psychological withdrawal. (pp. 18-19)

Finally, in the burnout syndrome, people suffer from a reduced sense of personal accomplishment. According to Schwab (1986):

> The third aspect, a feeling of low Personal Accomplishment from the job, is particularly crucial for teachers. Most teachers enter the profession to help students learn and grow. When teachers no longer feel that they are accomplishing this, there are few other areas on which they can focus to receive rewards (for example, putting in more time to make more money). (p. 19)

Differences in the frequency of teacher burnout, as defined by the three symptoms of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and low personal accomplishment, have been found for different teacher groups. Female teachers experience less depersonalization towards students than male teachers, older teachers suffer less from emotional exhaustion than younger ones, and elementary teachers have higher levels of personal accomplishment and less depersonalized feelings towards students than secondary teachers (Schwab, 1986). In addition, the normed samples given by Maslach and Jackson (1986, p. 9) indicate less emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, coupled with higher personal accomplishment, for tertiary teachers than for those teaching at K-12 level.

Teacher burnout results in a reduced commitment to teaching in a specific context as wel as more generally in the teacher's career. As Firestone and Pennell (1993) observe: "Burned-out teachers are less sympathetic toward students, have a lower tolerance for frustration in the classroom, and feel more anxious and exhausted" (p. 493). Because of their physical and psychological exhaustion, burned out teachers are more likely to accept external controls on their teaching and less likely to pursue innovative teaching approaches to solve classroom problems. As a result, they may reduce the demands they make on themselves and their students, focusing on classroom atmosphere and discipline at the expense of achievement (Firestone & Pennell, 1993, p. 493).

In some cases, the chronic stress associated with the burnout syndrome may have serious psychological and physiological consequences for teachers. Dunham (1976) maintains that frustration and anxiety are two common stress responses among teachers that can lead to depressive illness or, in prolonged cases, to nervous breakdown. The Travers and Cooper (1991) study documents alarmingly high levels of stress co-occcurring with an equally alarming incidence of mental health problems -- and possible physiological effects as well -- among teachers in the U.K. As compared with "other highly stressed occupational groups" such as doctors, nurses, dentists, and tax officers, the U.K. teacher group is "suffering from significantly higher levels of mental ill-health" (Travers & Cooper, 1991, p. 1).

Rather than being comparable to the psychological profile of other professionals, the mental health profile of U.K. school teachers appears more comparable to that of individuals suffering medically diagnosed psychological disorders:

> Comparisons were also made with a group of psychoneurotic

> outpatients and it was found that at least one in five teachers (in some cases one in four, depending on the mental health measure employed) were suffering levels of anxiety, depression and psychosomatic symptoms at or above the level of psychoneurotics. (Travers & Cooper, 1991, p. 1)

The teachers in the Travers and Cooper (1991) study "believe that 57% of those days lost [to absence in the previous year] were due to stress-related causes" (p. 2). Approximately one-fourth of the teachers in the survey report being absent as a result of a "significant illness in the last year, and those illnesses can be seen to be mainly those related to stress e.g. Myalgic Encephalomyelitis (ME), stomach and bowel problems, asthma and chest problems, back and neck problems, anxiety and depression" (Travers & Cooper, 1991, p. 2).

As noted by Kremer-Hayon and Goldstein (1990), "stress is not aroused by difficult and frustrating conditions only, it also occurs as a result of lack of facilitating conditions, and lack of encouraging feedback" (p. 288). Teachers experiencing less role ambiguity and strong social support are better able to cope with stress and to diffuse its long-term effects such as emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and a low sense of personal accomplishment (Schwab, 1986). In general, a supportive atmosphere created by administrators can have a strong and direct effect on the well-being of teachers. Research by Dworkin (1987) and Dworkin et al. (1990) suggests that a relationship of cause and effect exists between the perceived level of administrative support that individual teachers experience and their self-reports of stress-related illness. If it is true that administrative support can actually diminish the effects of stress on the health and well-being of teachers and that lack of administrative support can literally make teachers feel ill, the provision of strong support for teachers by administrators becomes, like participatory management, an ethical imperative.

When one considers the relatively common and at the same time potentially serious ramifications of teacher stress, the mental health of teachers appears as a major educational issue demanding attention. As Menlo and Poppleton (1990) maintain: "Based on this knowledge, school officials could view the psychological health of the teacher as a schooling outcome which can legitimately stand side-by-side with student learning and development as a teaching/schooling outcome" (p. 174). In the next section, the topic of improving teachers' mental outlook in relation to their work is the focus of the discussion.

Improving Work Satisfaction, Motivation, and Commitment in Teaching

Increasing teachers' job and career satisfaction and decreasing the negative stress which they experience in their work is a goal which, if realized, will have beneficial outcomes for education and for society in general, as a result of the improved performance of the specific institutions and individuals involved, including the teachers themselves, the students, and the administrators of those schools. In order to achieve the goal of maximizing the sources of teachers' work satisfaction and minimizing the sources of their dissatisfactions and negative stress, it is necessary to first characterize those sources of positive and negative effects, as was attempted above, and then to develop approaches to influence them in the desired direction, so that teachers' work perceptions and performance can be improved. In the remainder of this chapter, suggestions for enhancing work satisfaction, motivation, and commitment are offered.

As confirmed by Sim (1990, p. 273), in his discussion of the Singapore teachers in the Consortium study, Johnson (1986) observes that both extrinsic rewards, such as pay and promotion, as well as intrinsic rewards, such as pride in work, can supply motivation for teachers. Following the lead of Spuck (1974), she contends that better pay and higher status might draw those with an interest in teaching to the profession, but probably are not sufficient to retain or sustain outstanding staff members, as the best teachers stay in teaching because of intrinsic rewards. According to Goodlad (1984):

> Anticipating rewards intrinsic to the work, teachers begin with a willingness to forgo high salaries. However, when confronted with the frustration of these expectations, the fact that they sometimes are paid less than the bus drivers who bring their students to school may become a considerable source of dissatisfaction as well. (p. 172)

Williams (1978) defines levels of job satisfaction in teach-

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ing as a hierarchy based on the five basic needs that Maslow (1943, 1954) postulated as underlying human motivation -- i.e., physiological, security, social, esteem, and self-actualization needs. In Williams' (1978) view, teachers are more likely to be motivated by activities and incentives which will move them to a higher level of job satisfaction according to Maslow hierarchy. Research by Pastor and Erlandson (1982) confirm that job satisfaction bears a significant relationship to the higher level needs which teachers experience. However, Sweeney (1981) maintains that the higher level needs of teachers for esteem and self-actualization are generally unsatisfied in a public school context. Williams (1978) recommends that educational administrators examine their motivational practices in regard to teachers to ensure that they are not focusing on needs at too low a level of the hierarchy nor blocking efforts to increase the competence and self-esteem of teachers. He urges administrators to reward greater competence when it is exhibited and to challenge teachers to develop greater competence and esteem by providing professional growth opportunities.

Wiśniewski's (1990, p. 304) results, which suggest that self-motivation may be key in continuing growth in one's profession, attest to the importance for teachers to have both time and opportunities to extend their knowledge and skills. Sim (1990, p. 273) holds that opportunities for professional development and wider responsibility can contribute to job satisfaction:

> Likewise, if Work Centrality is a characteristic of profession-

> alism, then the answer must be to widen the opportunities for teachers to be engaged in activities like attending conferences, working to improve the welfare of pupils and participating in research activities and management/supervision. (Sim, 1990, p. 273)

Rosenholtz (1989) and Poppleton and Riseborough (1990, p. 224) stress the need for continuing professional development of teachers through different types of learning opportunities or in-service education that will maintain their professional commitment. Thus, it would seem essential for developing and maintaining confident, motivated teachers who perform well in the classroom to provide strong initial preparation as well as in-service training in classroom skills and practices.

As Firestone and Pennell (1993) observe:

> Learning opportunities can contribute to commitment by expanding teachers' knowledge. They provide opportunities to learn subject content and instructional approaches that can increase classroom effectiveness and intrinsically rewarding student feedback while providing a sense of competence. They can increase skill variety by allowing the teacher to use new techniques or approaches and address new goals or content. Moreover, additional knowledge is central to reducing the endemic uncertainty of teaching. (p. 506)

A major type of learning opportunities involve collaboration through "staff development, college courses and the intentional creation of networks among teachers within schools and across districts" (Firestone & Pennell, 1993, p. 506).

Johnson (1986) recommends motivating teachers by organizational incentives "designed to engage them in schoolwide enterprises and to promote shared professional goals" (p. 55); in this way, they will enlarge their sense of participation and responsibility. Teacher participation at higher levels of decision-making and planning -- e.g., in planning curriculum -- or in such collaborative initiatives as team teaching increases skill variety, task identity, and task significance, and thus can increase work satisfaction, motivation, and commitment. Firestone and Pennell (1993) suggest increasing teacher commitment by means of collaborative projects and collective incentives. These authors recommend collaboration on instructional issues, such as in "the use of career ladders, mentor teachers, and other programs that create special positions through which teachers have the opportunity to interact with colleagues" (Firestone & Pennell, 1993, p. 514). Career ladders increase skill variety, while teacher mentor programs increase such job dimensions as skill variety and feedback. In addition, as Firestone and Pennell (1993) maintain, collective incentive programs seem to have greater potential for increasing teacher commitment than individual incentive programs, which tend to engender competition and divisiveness as much as autonomy. Such projects might, for example, involve several curriculum "teams", each responsible for researching, developing, and field-testing new course options or materials.

Because of the number of demands made on teachers and the level of stress associated with their everyday responsibilities, provision of strong psychological and structural support would appear to be an essential precondition of high teaching performance and work satisfaction. Teacher commitment may be improved by improving structural support in the way of such resources as:

- an orderly and smoothly functioning environment;
- clean, adequately lighted, sufficiently large, and well-equipped work spaces, including offices and classrooms;
- textbooks, teaching equipment, and other teaching resources which are plentiful, in good condition, and up-to-date;
- reasonable work responsibilities in terms of workload and nature of teaching assignment
- moral and work support from administrators.

In addition, teachers performing extra administrative duties may be offered a reduced teaching load or time off in lieu of a financial reward for extra work. For teachers who feel overloaded but who would like to assume new responsibilities or projects, a reduced teaching load or time off may be the only way for them to participate comfortably and effectively at a departmental or organizational level beyond their own classrooms.

Considering the potentially significant relationship between teachers' general satisfaction in their work and student attitudes and achievement (Chapman, 1983), administrators might make special efforts to give teachers more access to their students, e.g., through releasing some time periods reserved for administrative meetings to make them available for individual or small group student consultation. Considering the strong relationship between intrinsic rewards, job satisfaction, and career longevity in teaching, administrators should also make a special effort to remove any barriers preventing teachers from experiencing the inherent rewards of teaching to the fullest extent possible. Thus, as Johnson (1986) maintains, "efforts to retain outstanding teachers should probably focus on ensuring that they can do their best work without disruption or financial hardship" (pp. 73-74). This means providing teachers with the support and autonomy they need for the creative problem-solving activity that is teaching.

Notwithstanding the importance of internally generated satisfactions in motivating teaching performance, as Johnson (1986) reminds us:

> It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that extrinsic rewards are irrelevant in [the] search for appropriate incentives. To say that teachers are motivated primarily by intrinsic rewards does not necessarily mean that they are motivated solely by them. Money does matter, particularly to teachers whose pay falls short of personal needs. What the research does suggest is that most teachers need to feel a sense of personal accomplishment if they are to persevere in the difficult work of teaching. There are easier ways to make a living, and most teachers who leave teaching do so because they fail to achieve personal satisfaction in their work. However, even intrinsic rewards may not be sufficient to retain and inspire

> the best teachers in a society that denies teachers the status and pay of other service professions such as law and medicine. (pp. 59-60)

Wiśniewski's (1990) investigation in the Polish context confirms the fact that a substantial pay raise can increase teachers' self-evaluations of job satisfaction from moderate to high.

Not only pay raises but also special compensation for work performed outside the normal duties might have a real effect on teacher satisfaction, morale, and job commitment (Firestone & Bader, 1992; Johnson, 1986). While realizing the limitations of monetary compensation as a reward for teachers, Johnson (1986) contends:

> Bonuses paid to teachers of assuming specific assignments or doing extra work may not compromise their commitment to instruction. In fact, such extrinsic incentives may enable them to continue in the profession while increasing their income and enlarging the scope of their responsibilities. (p. 60)

Concluding Remarks to Chapter Two

According to the discussion of this section, teachers have traditionally been satisfied with their work, though they have often expressed dissatisfaction with extrinsic rewards and structural aspects of their jobs as a result of their expectations regarding work and the comparative importance which they attach to the satisfaction of higher level needs through job and career. More recent investigations indicate that some teacher groups -- e.g., Americans, Canadians, and Singaporeans -- remain relatively satisfied with their occupations, while others -- e.g., British, West Germans, and Japanese -- show less positive work perceptions.

The fact that many teachers find their work inherently satisfying but at the same time demanding and stressful points to a need for educational environments to provide the support and recognition that nourish those satisfactions, that do not place unnecessary additional demands on teachers, and that mollify the on-the-job stresses of teaching through strong structural support, collegial participation, and different forms of concrete and abstract recognition for a job well done. On the basis of the discussion of work satisfaction, motivation, and commitment presented so far, it will be possible in the next section to determine the extent to which ESL, as an emergent profession, can be characterized in the same terms as that of other professional employee groups, particularly career teachers.

CHAPTER THREE

WORK SATISFACTION, MOTIVATION, AND COMMITMENT IN ESL

This chapter applies the concepts developed in the prceding chapters to the work of teaching English as a second or foreign language. The starting point of the discussion is a review of a survey carried out by the British Council in British EFL teachers working mainly overseas. Then we turn to the discussion of ESL work according to a number of surveys carried out with mainly U.S. ESL educators. From the examination of these groups, it becomes clear that while ESL is a satisfying type of work for large numbers of people around the globe, it has limitatiions as a lifelong career.

Work Satisfaction and Occupational Issues: A British View

A recent employment survey of British EFL teachers -- i.e., English teachers of British nationality who are working in Britain and overseas -- conducted by the British Council (Blackie, 1990) offers a perspective on work centrality and occupational issues in ESL. Although its findings may not be entirely generalizable, they clearly go beyond the British context per se, drawing attention to many areas of concern in the teaching of ESL overseas as well as in the home country.

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The survey confirms the existence of relatively low pay for this group of English teachers, while stressing the lack of career structure and the high turnover rate associated with teaching English abroad. According to the British Council survey:

> There are an estimated 36,000 British EFL teachers, defined as those who earn their living employed in an EFL teaching establishment, worldwide. This represents just under half the estimated number of foreign EFL teachers. (Blackie, 1990, sec. 5.4)

In spite of their large numbers and dominance of the worldwide ESL teacher market, these British teachers do not, in general, command good salaries nor exemplary job conditions. Many of the positions available to these teachers are part-time, short-term, or otherwise lacking in full career benefits.

By the same token, according to the British Council survey, the majority of British citizens teaching EFL are not well-qualified, experienced teachers. Blackie (1990, sec. 5.4) speculates that only a third of these teachers have qualifications that would be recognized by the British Council. As Blackie (1990) further notes: "Of the 36,000 total, an estimated 10,000 have less than two years' experience, 5000 between two and four years' experience, 3000 four to seven years [sic.] experience, and 18,000 more than seven years' experience" (sec. 5.4). The highly restricted long-term experience within this group is a direct result of the exceedingly high turnover of the British teachers in the field: "The dropout rate for each year's new intake is estimated to be a compound 30% per annum, yielding about 2000 after three years, and around 500 after seven" (Blackie, 1990, sec. 5.4).

Many of the British EFL teachers, like their counterparts from other countries, are drawn to the work of teaching English abroad for reasons other than long-term, full-time career aspirations. As Blackie (1990) observes:

> Teachers frequently enter EFL with a short-term objective in sight, such as a year in Spain, a summer job, reunion with a loved one (short or long term), a desire to see the world, or to find interesting work in the location to which they are committed by virtue of personal ties. Many develop the interest and expertise which sustains them in this work for years, while others drop away for a variety of reasons. (sec. 5.2)

Thus, while large numbers of the British practitioners may start out with only a short-term orientation, their initial experiences develop in many a longer term orientation to the field. Unfortunately, as Blackie (1990) relates, the long-term career picture for ESL teachers in Britain is not a positive one:

> The view that EFL has no career structure has been voiced often, and no dissent will be found here.... EFL is an international business, and British EFL teachers may be found in all corners of the globe. The model here starts with the sugges-

> tion that there are approximately 36,000 such teachers employed at any one time, and that about 6000 join their ranks each year, while a smaller number, depending on trends in the key markets, leave to take up a new career, start a family, or simply move sideways into a related career in management, publishing, course marketing etc. Of that 6000, half of whom obtain certification early on, only 2000 will be engaged in TEFL after three years (many of the others perhaps never seriously considering TEFL as a way of life), and perhaps only 500 after seven years by which time the pressures of family life, house purchase, and other material aspirations, possibly coupled with a certain disillusionment, have forced the issue. (sec. 5.1)

The small number of career teachers within the U.K. represent, to some extent, an exception to this pattern of employment. According to Blackie (1990):

> It appears likely that there are no more than about 2500 permanent EFL teaching jobs, and that most of them are held by individuals who have been with the same organisation for at least four years, and that given the longevity of the UK based EFL teacher, not more than 250 posts are created each year as a result of retirement, change of career, promotion, new enterprise or other cause. The evidence is not that the UK based teacher seeks work abroad, rather that there is an unmet demand for teachers returning from abroad to find satisfactory posts in the UK. There are few of those, and very little movement

> where they exist. The tenants of these posts are, on the whole, qualified, experienced, and settled. (sec. 3.4)

Thus, there appears to be a surfeit of people in Britain who consider themselves to be ESL practitioners and who would remain in the field if it were possible, but who have no opportunity to assume career positions. The inescapable conclusion is that in at least one large sector of ESL, a group of relatively committed and experienced individuals are lost from the profession, as occupational conditions do not meet career requirements.

This sort of survey has put together important information relating to the status of ESL in Britain and in the other countries -- particularly, Italy, Spain, and Japan, "together representing more than half the market" (Blackie, 1990, sec. 5.3) -- where British EFL teachers are employed. Because the British Council study is so broad-ranging and because so few occupational studies of this sort have been conducted to date, its findings represent a major contribution to our understanding of the issues surrounding ESL teacher supply. These issues include high turnover in the field, insufficiently qualified teachers, and the small number of career positions. As we will see in the remainder of this chapter, these same issues recur in the U.S. and in the larger ESL context around the world.

Work Satisfaction and Occupational Issues in the U.S. and in the Larger ESL Context

The British employment study just reviewed provides useful and up-to-date information on the ESL profession outside the United States. It is possible to compare this information to other reports of occupational concerns in ESL that have appeared in the U.S. in the last decade. One source of information is a report on the employment conditions of tertiary ESL teachers in the greater Phildadelphia, Pennsylvania, area conducted by Scott Stevens and Steve Jones (Stevens, 1991). While the Stevens and Jones study draws on data only from one metropolitan area, it is corroborated to some degree by other studies reported here, and so can be taken as at least partially representative of ESL employment conditions in other locations.

According to the Stevens and Jones study, three-fourths of the Philadelphia area ESL teachers are part-time: At community colleges, the figure is 80%; in university ESL programs, 64%; and in independent proprietary programs, 50%. Out of the twenty institutions surveyed, only two provide employee benefits for their part-time instructors. In general, the few full-time instructors are provided with adequate benefits, except in the area of pensions. Only the community colleges offer tenure and long-term contracts. In spite of the large number of instructors classified as part-time, the average workload is reported to be 21.3 hours per week in the classroom. This figure of course does not include preparation time, administrative duties, office hours, and other meeting time needed for conferencing with supervisors, other faculty members, parents or sponsors of students, and students outside of regular office hours.

The average salary across the twenty institutions was found to be $20,500, a figure which Stevens (1991) reports to be $11,000 below the 9-month salary of a public school teacher in the Philadelphia area. The best salaries are obtained by community college teachers, who make on average $34,000 -- a figure about $10,000 higher than the average for university ESL teachers in Philadelphia area institutions. Stevens (1991) speculates that the reason for the higher salaries at the community colleges might be that they are heavily unionized, a point underscored by Jones (1991). Another reason might be that the master's degree is often the highest qualification of those who work at a community college and therefore can command a reasonable salary, while at a university, a master's degree is often viewed as only a partial qualification or as an non-terminal or inferior degree.

According to Stevens (1991), most of the schools surveyed would hire as ESL teachers people with no formal training in ESL and those holding only a bachelor's degree. Stevens (1991) describes the situation as "a system of exploitation apparently perpetrated by administrators who don't want to enforce credentials in the field." He suggests that those in ESL should work to restrict the supply of available ESL teachers by enforcing a master's-only requirement as the recognized qualification for teaching ESL. In this way, the supply of ESL teachers will be limited to qualified professionals and will decrease substantially in numbers, thereby driving up demand and putting pressure on institutions to raise salaries.

To complement this information about occupational status, information about work perceptions of those employed in ESL can be gleaned from a workshop conducted at the 1984 conference of NAFSA-Association of International Educators (Pennington, 1984a). At that workshop, a group of ESL administrators addressed causes and potential solutions for low morale among teachers in university ESL programs. A report on the workshop summarizes the findings of the group as follows:

> Among the manifestations of low morale identified were fear, anger, anxiety and stress associated with lack of status, lack of security and low self-esteem. Specific causes of low morale advanced by the group were poor facilities, low pay, heavy teaching schedules, lack of benefits and clear status, job insecurity, minimal participation in program decision-making, and lack of opportunities for advancement and professional development. Suggestions for raising ESL teacher morale included pay increases, decreased teaching loads, full benefits, long-term contracts, improved status within individual institutions and within the field of education in general, increased responsibility and decision-making power, in-service and other professional development and leadership opportunities. (Pennington, 1984b, p. 9)

As can be extrapolated from the responses of the teachers in Britain and in the Philadelphia area and from those of the administrators in the NAFSA-Association of International Educators workshop, the occupational concerns and the sources of low morale in ESL teaching stem from a lack of:

- concrete forms of recognition of achievement such as pay, benefits, and promotions; and
- less tangible psychological rewards such as (a) opportunities for self-expression and growth, and (b) a sense of responsibility for, participation in, and commitment to the program and the larger field.

Low pay was cited as a reason for leaving ESL teaching in a survey conducted by Day (1984) of graduates of the M.A. program in ESL at the University of Hawaii from 1967 to 1979. However, the fact that the salaries of those who elected to stay in the field -- 79% of the 137 who returned the questionnaires -- were not significantly different from those who did not suggests that a more complex reward structure must be operating to keep a large number of people satisfied enough to remain in the ESL field for some years beyond graduation. Indeed, as Kammerer (1991-92, p. 3) reports, "the rate of attrition of ESL and bilingual teachers in the US is no more than for other teaching fields: an indication that the benefits of teaching English far exceed the monetary reimbursements."

As in the case of other kinds of educational work, the judgment of satisfaction in ESL is made relative to other careers. Where one has professional qualifications and long-term career aspirations, the value standards and expectations for the

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ESL occupation are likely to be higher than when one works in ESL on a voluntary or temporary basis. Members of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages [TESOL] organization, by far the largest professional organization within ESL, with over 20,000 members (Kammerer, 1991-92), can be expected, for the most part, to represent a professional orientation to ESL, as volunteer or temporary teachers would be less likely than those with long-term career interests to pay dues to a professional organization. The TESOL organization also represents the most diverse and international group of ESL practitioners of any professional organization in the field. For these reasons, the TESOL membership would seem to be an important source of information about employment conditions and work perceptions in what is emerging as the ESL profession.

According to a demographic survey that received a response from 11% of the 1991 TESOL membership, as reported by Kammerer (1991-92, p. 3), over 60% of respondents work at tertiary level, and the average salary is around $30,000 -- although with a disparity that gives males a salary that is approximately 20% higher than that of females. According to the results of this TESOL survey, over 80% of the respondents hold full-time jobs, and the majority of those working part-time say they prefer their part-time status and would not accept a full-time job. Thus, the average salary in the surveyed TESOL membership is considerably higher than for the mostly part-time teachers included in the Philadelphia area survey. In addition, the majority of part-time employees in the surveyed TESOL group do not appear to be dissatisfied with their status, as contrasted with both the British EFL teachers described by Blackie (1990) and the tertiary-level ESL teachers surveyed in the Phildelphia area by Stevens and Jones (1991), which includes many teachers who are not members of TESOL. Thus, it would appear that TESOL members are better paid and more likely to hold a full-time position or, if part-time, to maintain this status by choice. However, the picture with respect to part-time employment in TESOL is clouded somewhat by the results of TESOL Research Task Force survey (described below), in which Brown (1992) reports the issue of part-time employment as one of the major issues in ESL cited by TESOL members. It seems likely that many of those who hold full-time jobs -- the majority in TESOL -- might express concern about the small number of full-time positions, and, conversely, that even those who are satisfied with their part-time status might recognize the desirability of more full-time positions.

According to the Kammerer (1991-92) report, approximately 90% of the TESOL respondents hold a graduate degree, typically, a master's qualification, although there is a disparity between men and women in the proportion of master's and doctoral level qualifications, with more than twice as many men (approximately 30%) holding a doctorate as women. From these figures, it appears that TESOL members are generally more highly qualified than the British EFL group which Blackie (1990) describes and possibly also than the general group of ESL teachers in Philadelphia, where a bachelor's degree is sometimes accepted as adequate bacground for an ESL teaching position.

Information on the occupational concerns of TESOL members has also been gathered in the last four years in another employment concerns survey which sampled each of the Interest Sections of TESOL on employment concerns and which included 5% of the 1988 TESOL membership (Tobash & Blaber, 1987). On the basis of the survey results, Blaber and Tobash (1989) report the following issues as "extremely important" to 60% or more of the respondents:

- having salary commensurate with duties and experience (82%)
- being viewed as a professional (77%)
- having qualified professionals hired to teach ESL (75%)
- having adequate health benefits (71%)
- having a realistic weekly teaching workload (70%)
- having sustained job security (67%)
- having adequate benefits, like retirement and vacation (64%)
- having adequate workspace and office equipment (63%)
- having a voice in curriculum development and textbook adoption (62%)
- having good classroom conditions (60%)
- having quality in assigned or required classroom materials and curricula (60%)

The results of the TESOL employment concerns survey mirror the findings of the earlier NAFSA administrative workshop, indicating that what practitioners in ESL want is what any professional might expect: fair pay and benefits, job security, reasonable workload, recognition of professional qualifications of self and others, participation in decision-making, good physical working conditions, quality materials, and quality systems for structuring and coordinating the work and the people of the organization. Thus, like educators in other fields, those with professional aspirations in ESL require satisfaction of both structural items and status items in their jobs and careers. Since the results of the employment concerns survey represent areas of concern on the part of TESOL members, it can be inferred that career-minded ESL practitioners find certain elements lacking from their work environments, especially:

- needed support, including material rewards, physicial resources, and good working conditions;
- recognition as qualified and fully participating professionals.

The inferences that can be made from the TESOL employment concerns survey about missing elements in ESL work are reinforced by the responses of 334 TESOL members to one of the questions on a survey carried out by the TESOL Research Task Force (Brown, 1992; Brown et al., 1992). The question was: "What do you consider to be the single biggest problem facing ESL/EFL teachers today?" In response to this question, three main issues emerged (Brown, 1992, pp. 1 & 5), as summarized below with the most frequent responses in descending order:

Respect (respect, recognition, acceptance, credibility, and marginalization or lack of legitimacy);

Employment (pay or salary, part-time employment or lack of full-time employment, lack of benefits, job security, and working conditions);
Funding (funding and resources or support).

Similar findings recur in a survey designed to investigate ESL administrators' self-perceptions of work-related skills, activities, and efficacy (Pennington & Xiao, 1990). These data include the open-ended responses of 34 ESL program directors in the U.S. to a question about their program goals and objectives. Among the most common responses to the survey's open-ended question about goals/objectives for their programs were: (1) gaining salary increases or pay equity for teachers and (2) improving the status or recognition of their program within their institution. These common responses suggest that, like other ESL practitioners, program directors recognize problems in gaining the level of compensation, status, and recognition that they think is merited in ESL. In a related finding, directors of intensive ESL programs at universities in the United States cited the low status of their program, its faculty, and its mission on campus as a factor inhibiting innovation (Stoller, 1992).

Besides being a source of information on employment concerns related to ESL teachers, the Pennington and Xiao (1990) survey is a source of information about the characteristics and work-related perceptions of a specialized population of ESL practitioners, viz., ESL administrators. The survey involved a national mailing of 100 questionnaires sent to a randomly selected group of individuals who had identified themselves as ESL program directors on a mailing list compiled by the Association of Administrators of Intensive English Programs [AAIEP], a national body of ESL directors at college, university, and proprietary intensive programs drawn from the NAFSA membership. For comparative purposes, a second set of 100 survey instruments was distributed to a random sampling of department chairs and program heads in non-ESL fields at one university. The ESL program director's job was examined by means of the main part of the data of the national survey, in comparison to the reports of earlier studies and to data from the group of university department and program heads.

According to the findings of the Pennington and Xiao (1990) study, the ESL directors as a group have a higher terminal degree than in a 1981 study: half of the directors who returned the survey hold doctorates, and none have less than a master's degree qualification. In terms of their characteristics, as compared with the other academic administrators, the ESL directors have a lighter supervisory load as measured by number of staff positions, and they are younger, less experienced, and more likely to be female. In addition, they are less likely than other academic heads to hold any type of professorial rank, less likely to be tenured, and more likely to have been recruited from outside the department or program. They also report spending more of their time on administrative work and less of it on teaching or research than other university-level academic department or institute heads. The survey's examination of job activities and concerns finds that ESL administrators direct attention to business and managerial affairs, while attempting to sustain their educational interests. The survey results indicate that ESL directors are satisfied with their job performance and that they perceive a relatively good match between the level of skills needed for their job and the level which they actually possess, while suggesting that they could benefit from continuing education in areas of financial and personnel management.

It would be valuable to have similar types of data explictly comparing the characteristics and work perceptions of ESL teachers to those of teachers in other fields. Although such explicit comparisons do not yet exist, as far as I am aware, there is survey information available on job satisfaction in ESL that has been interpreted in the context of similar survey data on teachers and other workers. These investigations form the focus of attention in the next section.

Studies of Work Satisfaction, Motivation, and Commitment in ESL

Only a few studies have been conducted to date in ESL that address work satisfaction in any specific way. Of these studies, three investigated work satisfaction internationally using recognized survey instruments. The other studies used context-specific instruments and either did not focus on work satisfaction per se or were conducted only locally and so must receive a restricted interpretation.

A preliminary sense of work satisfaction in ESL can be gained from two studies published in the 1980's. A survey conducted of individuals holding an M.A. in ESL who graduated between 1976 and 1978 found that "[d]espite [a] rather low income, almost three-fourths of the respondents (73%) were satisfied with their overall employment status since receiving their M.A. degree" (Ochsner, 1980, p. 201). In a preliminary study of ESL job satisfaction, Lanier (1985) surveyed 67 faculty members at five university ESL programs in the Washington, D.C., area. The respondents were grouped into two categories, based on their responses to a survey item which asked them to assess the professional satisfaction they derived from their current job. On a five-point scale, ranging from not at all satisfying (1) to extremely satisfying (5), 31 respondents (46%) were classified as having high job satisfaction scores (4-5 on the five-point scale), while the remainder (54%) were classified as having low job satisfaction scores (1-3 on the five-point scale). The results of these two surveys must receive a restricted interpretation, however, since neither Ochsner nor Lanier measured work satisfaction with a recognized instrument, and Lanier's sample is limited to the Washington, D.C., area.

Two studies conducted by Pennington and Riley (1991a, b) examined job satisfaction in ESL by means of the MSQ and the JDI. One hundred randomly selected members of the TESOL organization were sent the long form MSQ, and another one hundred randomly selected members were sent the JDI. Thirty-two usable responses were received on the MSQ, and thirty-six on the JDI. In each case, six of the total of usable responses were received from locations other than the U.S. or its territorial possessions. The figure of between one-sixth and one-fifth representation from

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abroad is consistent with the general profile of the TESOL membership, which is concentrated in the U.S. A comparison of demographic data from the two Pennington and Riley (1991a, b) surveys with the responses to the much larger Blaber and Tobash (1989) investigation (Table 1) shows that they are are similarly representative of the TESOL membership, with the majority of the respondents being female, holding a master's degree in ESL or Linguistics, and working full-time. In addition, as in the TESOL Employments Concersn survey, the largest population of survey responsdents work in four-year collges or universities.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

As in the Blaber and Tobash survey, the majority of the respondents in the Pennington and Riley surveys are teachers, though a small percentage have other kinds of jobs such as embassy representative or ESL program director.

The Pennington and Riley (1991a) MSQ study reports ESL practitioners to be moderately satisfied with their jobs overall and to express varying degrees of satisfaction with the twenty individual job facets measured by the MSQ instrument. The two lowest rated facets are Advancement and Compensation; other facets rated low are two Supervision scales and one of Company policies and procedures. The most satisfying reinforcers identified by the ESL practitioners are in the areas of Moral values and Social service. Other relatively high scores obtain on the MSQ scales for Creativity, Achievement, Ability utilization, Activity, Responsibility, Variety, and Independence -- all areas of intrinsic job satisfactions.

Pennington and Riley (1991a) compare the findings for the ESL group to those of Chen (1977) for Taiwanese K-12 teachers, generally finding the same facets in the highest and lowest ranks. The other highly rated categories for the ESL group -- as well as for the Taiwanese teachers and for another comparison group of American elementary teachers -- describe psychological satisfactions stemming from the work itself. The rank-orderings for the twenty MSQ scales of the ESL and the American K-6 teacher groups can be compared in Table 2, which is derived from Pennington and Riley (1991a) and which also provides job facet ranks for an unskilled laborer group for contrast.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

Overall, the pattern of rankings of the twenty MSQ scales is more similar between the ESL and K-6 teacher groups -- though there is a significant divergence in the two categories of Supervision -- than between the laborers and either of the other two groups. It can be noted, for example, that whereas Compensation was among the bottom three items in the rankings for the two educator groups, it was placed among the top three items in the ranking for the laborer group; and the item ranked first by the laborer group -- Security -- was ranked twelfth by the ESL group and thirteenth by the elementary teacher group.

Results of the other Pennington and Riley (1991b) study, using the JDI, indicate a high level of overall job satisfaction among respondents according to the Job in General index and a relatively low level of satisfaction in the categories of Pay and Promotions. Pennington and Riley (1991b) also present comparisons of their data with those of the Watland (1988) study investigating job satisfaction among teachers in Norway, Wales, and Alaska. These comparisons are summarized graphically in Figure 5.

[Insert Figure 5 about here]

As illustrated by the bar graph, the highest rating occurs in the subjects' perception of Co-workers and the lowest in the category of Promotions for all four groups. Although the pattern of the ratings on the other three scales is less consistent, the two European groups are more similar to each other than to the two American groups; the latter two groups diverge, however, in perceptions of Pay. Pennington and Riley (1991b) note that "the JDI Pay scale is the most variable scale across all the groups..., perhaps reflecting the variability in actual pay." Teachers in Alaska, for example, are well paid as compared to teachers in Wales.

The Pennington and Riley (1991b) JDI study also makes comparisons of the data for the ESL group to that reported for female employees by Smith et al. (1975) for the U.S. and by Francès and Lebras (1982) for France, finding again that Co-workers is the most satisfactory item for all groups. The strength of the Co-workers scale across these studies perhaps reflects a characteristically female orientation to connection and intimacy, as described by Tannen (1990). In other respects, however, these female employee groups are less similar to each other than are the four educator groups. In particular, the ESL group's mean in the area of Supervision is substantially lower than for the other two groups of employees.

To summarize, the results of the two surveys carried out by Pennington and Riley (1991a, b) using standardized instruments indicate a moderate or high level of general job satisfaction among TESOL members. At the same time, they reveal that the level of satisfaction varies greatly for this group of educators across the different aspects of the job that the MSQ and JDI survey instruments measure. The fact that the JDI instrument registers greater overall job satisfaction than the MSQ instrument is very likely a consequence of the fact that the former yields a reactive, one-shot view that is independent of the evaluation of individual job facets, whereas the latter offers a more reflective, cross-sectional view that takes into account satisfactions and dissatisfactions in relation to individual job facets.

What is perhaps more significant than the differences are the similarities in results for TESOL members uncovered by the two instruments. In both surveys, job satisfaction is low in the areas of pay and opportunities for advancement, with a somewhat negative trend also seen according to both instruments in some aspects of administrative oversight such as supervision and implementation of policies and procedures. While ratings for pay/compensation on the two instruments may reflect a perceived low status on the part of ESL practitioners and the comparison groups of educators, they may also be a relatively direct reflection of actual pay -- at least for those who are at the extremes. As confirmed by much of the data presented here, there seems to be a widely held assumption, supported to some extent by the available evidence (e.g., Stevens, 1991), that ESL is generally not a well-paid occupation. Blackie's (1990, sec. 6.0) backhandedly positive observation, for example, that "British EFL teachers are an excellent source of invisible earnings for the country" belies just such an assumption, as the remark obliquely implies that the real income of British English teachers working abroad is insignificant.

An investigation of the work satisfaction of ESL resource teachers in Hong Kong public schools using the JDI (Wong & Pennington, 1993) finds low satisfaction in the area of Promotions and indications from other questionnaire data of low commitment on the part of this teaching group. Two investigations of Chinese bilingual high school English teachers in the community (Pennington, 1995; Pennington & Richards, in progress) find that their work commitment suffers as a result of the fact that they generally work under difficult, high stress "conditions of low autonomy, with little influence over strategic decisions, few opportunities for collaboration with colleagues and indeed little emphasis on collegiality, minimal positive feedback or work incentives such as promotions or societal recognition, and generally poor resources" (Pennington, 1995, p. 708).

A survey of ESL teachers in Australia (McKnight, 1992) reinforces the findings of the Pennington and Riley (1991a,b) surveys about the positive and the less positive aspects of ESL work. The lack of professional recognition, coupled with teachers' intrinsic motivation towards ESL work, is captured in the following remark by a teacher in McKnight's (1992) survey:

> 'Other staff members have a poor attitude to ESL teachers. The lack of acknowledgment does not detract from the work itself being very fulfilling.' (p. 27)

The teachers surveyed by McKnight (1992) also perceive ESL work as a way to gain positive, new work experiences: "a high proportion of respondents indicate their wish to change sectors (largely towards working with adults), change their field to ESL/EFL, or to seek the more flexible work arrangments offered in the TESOL field" (p. 24). However, ESL work in Australia has negative attributes in terms of job support and career opportunities:

> Careers in TESOL appear to be marked by horizontal rather than vertical mobility, and for those teachers who are interested in promotion, the only option in many cases is to move out of the specialist field. Many teachers who remain in the TESOL field, particularly in [public] schools, have to tolerate a powerless, relatively solitary position, and the support of colleagues, administrators and bureaucrats may be lacking. Many teachers and administrators still appear to see TESOL as a 'soft option' and have no understanding of the roles and responsibilities of ESL teachers. For some teachers in the adult TESOL sector, positions are short-term and insecure, and their position is in many ways worse than that of school teachers, who at least have the option to return to subject or grade teaching when the

attractions of ESL begin to pall. (McKnight, 1992, p. 30)

The results of this survey of Australian ESL teachers are consistent with those of the questionnaire surveys reviewed in this section. In all of these surveys -- i.e., in both of the Pennington and Riley (1991a,b) investigations as well as in the Chen (1977) study of Taiwanese teachers using the MSQ; the Wong and Pennington (1993) study of resource class ESL teachers in Hong Kong; and the Watland (1988) study comparing teachers in Norway, Wales, and Alaska using the JDI -- as well as in all of the secondary-level Consortium studies reported in Chapter Two, career structure or advancement appears as the least satisfactory aspect of ESL work. This finding points to the necessity within all of education for attention to career structure and reward systems that are future-oriented and aimed at the satisfaction of long-range needs. The fact that the ESL practitioners have lower satisfaction in both of the Pennington and Riley (1991a,b) studies in measures of supervision as compared to some other teacher and non-teacher groups perhaps reflects a perception of greater negative influence of supervisors on the ESL practitioners' satisfaction of their higher level needs for self-esteem and opportunities for self-actualization. The most positive responses are generally seen in areas such as human relations and the inherent qualities of the work itself. These findings support the notion that, like others in education fields but in contrast to certain non-professionals, those who work in ESL do so to satisfy higher level psychological needs that are often not well compensated financially.

Another study (Pennington & Ho, 1995) surveyed 300 randomly

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selected TESOL members using the MBI, with a return rate of approximately one-third. As in the Pennington & Riley (1991a,b) surveys, the characteristics of the surveyed respondents in most respects closely match those of the TESOL Employment Concerns survey -- though the percentage of respondents who are female and who work in four-year colleges/universities or private language institutes is somewhat larger -- and so can be taken as representative of the same population. The results for the 95 TESOL members who filled out the survey form are shown in Table 3:

[Insert Table 3 about here]

As compared to the over 10,000 employees surveyed by Maslach and Jackson (1986), the respondents are slightly lower on the Emotional Exhaustion subscale, considerably lower on the Depersonalization subscale, and considerably higher on the Personal Accomplishment subscale. The TESOL group therefore seems to suffer less from the stress-related effects associated with burnout than does the general population of human services workers. As compared to the individual occupational subgroups, the TESOL group scores somewhat lower on Emotional Exhaustion than the K-12 teachers, social services workers, and doctors and nurses, while scoring somewhat higher on Emotional Exhaustion than the post-secondary educator group and considerably higher than the mental health worker group of counselors, psychologists, and psychiatrists. In the category of Depersonalization, the TESOL group had the lowest score of all the groups surveyed, even somewhat lower than the post-secondary educators group and considerably lower than the K-12 group, which has the highest score in this category of all employee groups, according to the Maslach and Jackson (1986) data. In the category of Personal Accomplishment, the TESOL group scored somewhat lower than the post-secondary educators group. Otherwise, their Personal Accomplishment score was considerably higher than that of all the other employee groups provided for comparison. On the whole, the mean scores of the TESOL group are closest to those of the post-secondary educators group reported in the MBI Manual (Maslach & Jackson, 1986). This stands to reason, considering that the TESOL group is drawn primarily from post-secondary level.

The results of the MBI survey (Pennington & Ho, 1995) do not indicate the presence of the burnout syndrome among TESOL members, as defined by high emotional exhaustion and depersonalized attitudes towards students, accompanied by a low sense of personal accomplishment. In the context of the survey results obtained previously with TESOL members, the current results confirm a moderate-to-high degree of satisfaction with intrinsic aspects of the work such as relationships with others and feelings of worth and accomplishment that come with fulfillment of job responsibilities. The results of the MSQ, JDI, and MBI surveys taken together suggest that, for many TESOL members, the intrinsic rewards and positive social relations of the job may mitigate the potentially stressful aspects of ESL work and compensate to some degree for the inadequate career structure and financial rewards which many perceive as existing in the field. Nevertheless, the results of some studies (e.g., McKnight, 1992; Pennington, forthcoming; Pennington & Richards, in progress; Wong & Pennington, 1993) suggest that the job conditions of some ESL teacher groups, particularly, primary and secondary teachers who are not professionally affiliated, may be so difficult that they tend to overshadow any potential satisfactions of ESL work. Indeed, the comments of some teachers in the McKnight (1992), Pennington (1995), and Wong and Pennington (1993) investigations suggest high levels of job dissatisfaction, frustration, and burnout among some public school ESL teachers in both Australia and Hong Kong which may exist in other countries as well.

The MSQ, the JDI, and the MBI, although widely used and standardized instruments, are limited in the breadth and depth of their characterization of work satisfaction. Recognizing the limitations of these two instruments and the small numbers of subjects in the Pennington and Riley (1991a,b) and Pennington and Ho (1995) studies, one can gain a more general view of job attitudes within the ESL field by combining the results of these surveys with the other available information about the job-related attitudes of ESL practitioners, in the context of what has been reported in Chapters One and Two about work satisfaction among teachers and other workers.

The combined insights of this literature yields a complex profile of ESL work satisfaction that appears to be similar in many respects to that of teachers in other fields. According to this profile, ESL practitioners are motivated in a positive direction in their jobs and careers by intrinsic work process and human relations factors. These positive motivators guarantee that the level of overall satisfaction will be sufficiently high within ESL so as to sustain a core of experienced educators in teaching and related practices and to continue to attract a steady stream of enthusiastic newcomers to fill the increasing need for ESL practitioners around the globe. They also guarantee that, although those in ESL may work long hours, the potentially stressful aspects of employment do not generally result in burnout -- at least not among TESOL members -- although burnout may be more common among ESL teachers in public schools around the world. Membership in a professional organization may indeed be causally related (though perhaps indirectly) to relatively high job satisfaction among ESL teachers, as it appears from the scant evidence available (e.g., Blackie, 1990; Stevens, 1991) that job conditions may be worse and satisfaction lower for those not professionally affiliated. At the same time, the general picture is one of considerable dissatisfaction with long-term career opportunities within the field, with the compensation and recognition received for the work performed, and with administrative and supervisory policies and practices that limit professional responsibility and growth. In addition, the "resources" areas identified by Firestone and Pennell (1993) seem to be significant issues for ESL teachers in some contexts, such as those teaching in large urban school districts such as Hong Kong.

Concluding Remarks to Chapter Three

The findings of the present investigation point to some problems in the ESL field related to lack of career structure and various employment practices, co-existing with a generally high level of work satisfaction in the field overall. The findings reported in this chapter, in the context of the information reported in previous chapters, underscore the importance of ensuring that ESL practitioners have the job security, the independence, and the autonomy required to fulfill their work aspirations and to fully experience the intrinsic rewards of their chosen occupation. They therefore urge the removal of any administrative or structural barriers that prevent or diminish the enjoyment of those intrinsic occupational rewards. The findings further suggest a need for career ladders and long-term educational projects in ESL programs that allow practitioners to continue to advance in their careers and to challenge themselves to attain higher levels of expertise. Finally, this investigation suggests the need for administration and supervision within individual language programs and for professional practices within the ESL field at large which set up work conditions that enable practitioners to perform at the highest possible level, so as to satisfy their needs for self-esteem and recognition by others and to realize their full potential.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOWARDS AN EMPLOYMENT ACTION PLAN FOR ESL

In the final chapter of this volume, suggestions are offered about how to improve work satisfaction, motivation, and commitment within ESL in individual language programs and the field at large. It is argued that only through serious attention to teacher development, career structure, and academic structure will the ESL profession be able to flourish and teachers do the important work in society that they perform according to their own internal needs and personal satisfaction.

Addressing Work Satisfaction, Motivation, and Commitment at the Program Level

For those who choose to go into ESL, there appears to be a reasonably good match between their characteristics and aspirations, on the one hand, and the inherent characteristics and requirements of ESL work, on the other. At the same time, there seems to be considerable room for improvement within the field in certain structural aspects of ESL employment and in the status and concrete rewards accruing from the work performed. Dodd and Pesci (1977) suggest that managers use information from job satisfaction surveys to improve the attitudes of employees by developing "a morale action program" that includes the setting of standards, objectives, and timelines for accomplishment of those goals. With this in mind, it might be of value for ESL administrators to investigate work satisfaction among their own teachers, using the JDI, MSQ, or some other standardized or customized instrument. On the basis of information gained from such a survey, individual programs might develop their own "morale action program" to increase the level of job and career satisfaction among their faculty members, recognizing the positive impact on teachers' job satisfaction, motivation, and commitment -- and as a result, via teachers' job performance, on students' satisfactionm motivation, commitment, and educational performance -- of high-level motivator factors and long-range, future-oriented goals that develop self-esteem and expertise and that reward competence in teaching. Such a plan could address the needs of ESL teachers by providing:

- Many and varied growth opportunities to keep their intrinsic motivation and performance high;
- Encouragement and incentives for them to join and participate in professional organizations and to extend their knowledge and expertise in their field, in order to maintain work centrality and commitment;
- Incentives and resources for collective projects, collaborative roles, cooperative decision-making and networking, coupled with strong administrative support and recognition, to increase their commitment, loyalty, involvement, and innovation, and to decrease their risk of stress-related

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health problems;

- Horizontal and vertical job changes to enhance long-term career motivation for younger and older teachers through career ladders and mentoriong programs which increase job diversity, leadership opportunities, and professional self-image;
- Equitable pay and benefits and a contractual commitment that will serve as tangible evidence of job security and status;
- Bonuses, promotions, reduced teaching load, and other concrete rewards for taking on new assignments and extra responsibilities;
- Smoothly functioning administrative systems and procedures that can sustain an environment conducive to experiencing high levels of the intrinsic satisfactions that come with a teaching career.

By addressing these needs, ESL administrators will be making a direct investment in program quality, of which teachers are generally recognized to be the single most influential determinant (Eskey, 1982).

Like other employees ESL teachers are motivated by their needs for achievement, affiliation, autonomy, and power. Administrators involved in planning the design for new language programs or job enrichment in existing ESL programs can aim to address these needs based on the framework of core job dimensions and change principles developed by Hackman and Oldham (1980) and Hackman (1987), as discussed in the remainder of this section.

Attending to the Core Job Dimensions in ESL Work

ESL work can become more employee-centered by increasing the core job dimensions of skill variety, task identity, task signficance, autonomy, and feedback.

Skill Variety. Although in theory the reliability of performance increases when work does not require mastery of new skills and is repetitive and non-creative, in reality, since human beings are not machines, performance generally suffers, as a result of decreased attention and motivation, when challenge and novelty are absent from work. Work which requires creative responses and problem-solving based on manipulating a variety of different skills, because it is more challenging and variable, is also more motivating. Thus, it is desirable for individual ESL teachers and for the educational programs which employ them to foster the development of different types of work-related skills through variety in job assignment, encouragement of innovation, and support for attendance at outside training courses to acquire expertise in new areas.

At the same time, in most larger ESL programs, the collective faculty represent a diversified and highly skilled resource who have much to teach each other, so that workshops presented internally by colleagues may be of equal or even greater value as compared to outside input. Moreover, internally organized training and sharing of ideas increases employee participation, responsibility, and cooperation, while also giving opportunities for teachers to be recognized for their special skills and achievements, thus enhancing self-esteem and the motivation to continue to increase their skills and achievements.

Task Identity. As skill variety is one of the core job dimensions which gives workers a sense of the complexity and therefore the value of their work, so does task identity contribute to the worker's experienced meaningfulness in regard to his/her job. Employees who perform only a small part of a larger and more complex task -- the classicial example is the assembly line worker who inserts an identical widget or twists an identical bolt every few seconds in mass-production of a machine -- does not have a sense of the unity of this action with the product of their labor. In such cases, in which the employee is only minimally aware of the whole task complex of which his/her work is but a tiny part, the experienced meaningfulness of work is low.

There are many ways to increase task identity and so the experienced meaningfulness of ESL work. Task identity is increased by having one teacher teach the same students from beginning to end of the course, rather than teaching a new group every term, in an endless "assembly-line" process in which each teacher contributes one small element to the education of each group of new students. Task identity is also increased by integrating all skill areas into one course, rather than breaking instruction into individual areas such as reading, writing, speaking, and listening. A different approach to task identity is to have one teacher focus on one skill area across the whole curriculum, rather than teaching only at one level of the curriculum or in a variety of skill areas. Task identity is also enhanced when teachers are involved in curriculum planning and management for a whole course or in setting up and managing not only individual classes, but also students' academic, cultural, and social orientation within their English course.

Task Significance. Work which is low in task significance is work which, although it may be highly complex, is not perceived by the employee as important and worthwhile. In the ESL field, task significance would be high for most teachers in classes aimed at recent refugees or those preparing for citizenship examinations. Where those studying in a particular ESL program are more typical student populations, task signficance can be increased by giving an ESP (English for Specific Purposes) focus to courses which would otherwise be generic ESL. Additionally, teaching to specific objectives, especially if these are designed by teachers themselves, increases task significance and experienced meaningfulness, thereby increasing internal motivation to do the job well. Task significance is also enhanced by test results which show regular improvement, such as teacher-developed achievement tests related to course content.

Autonomy. A lack of autonomy is demotivating almost by definition: an employee who has no control over decision-making or the work context is not motivated to take charge of the job and to creatively manage performance. Thus, a teacher treated like a generic "cog in a wheel" starts to act like one, performing his or her part in an adequate and standardized fashion, and never making the effort to do more than absolutely necessary or to distinguish himself or herself in any way. For this reason, it may not be wise, motivationally speaking, to encourage teachers to be "jack-of-all-trades", although this is in fact the philosophy of many ESL programs. Ironically, set curricula and materials can also be demotivating, given that they do not allow teachers the independence, authority, and creativity of setting up their own goals and designing original materials. They therefore discourage teachers from working according to their individual needs, talents, and interests, and so miss an opportunity for creating a sense of personal commitment to the job and energizing teachers to work hard, to challenge themselves, and to continually develop themselves and their teaching. Because they suggest non-independence and non-autonomy, strong top-down control of teaching and heavy supervision encourage teachers to take less responsibility for the outcomes of their work than they would given more personal control of their own teaching situation.

Autonomy can be increased by encouraging teachers to develop specializations within the broad areas that must be taught. These specializations might revolve around the language skill areas, or be even more specialized by focusing on a particular level, type of student, or sub-area such as academic reading or writing for business. Teacher autonomy is further enhanced by allowing teachers to develop their own syllabus, materials, and testing mechanisms, so that they will feel greater responsibility for the outcomes of the work, and work harder and more creatively to achieve these. It is also enhanced by teachers' efforts at self-evaluation to assess their own performance and areas for professional development. Rather than a yearly administrative review of performance, teachers can be required or encouraged to develop a personal growth plan with goals and action steps at one-year, two-year, and five-year intervals. The administrator can then assist individual teachers each year to review their progress in achieving the goals which they set for themselves the previous year and in adjusting these and setting new goals and action steps as needed with a view to the next yearly review.

Feedback. While negative feedback can be counterproductive, lack of feedback decreases motivation, in that it eliminates a crucial element of setting and revising goals and targets for performance. Accordingly, teachers who receive no feedback or only very general or occasional feedback on their performance lose incentive to innovate and improve. Both motivation and change in performance require the creation of a gap between what is perceived and what is desired in performance, that is, between the teacher's real and ideal performance. Feedback is essential for creating such a gap between perception and conception of teaching. Such feedback can be provided in many ways and from many sources.

The goal of feedback is achieved by having students comment on teacher performance, particularly in relation to the teacher's own goals and values. Hence, a teacher-designed course evaluation form provides more meaningful feedback than a standardized assessment instrument. Test results and student questionnaires provide both positive and negative feedback, and can help to pinpoint areas for remediation of both learning and teaching.

Informal feedback may be solicited from students in face-to-face interaction during "walk-in" office hours, in "dialogue journals", or in "chat" over a computer network. Action research to systematically examine teaching and learning performance before and after classroom innovation not only provides a highly focused and useful form of feedback, but also increases task significance.

Feedback provided from an inside perspective and feedback that allows for the development of mutual understandings of goals and performance is generally more motivating than feedback provided from an outside, non-negotiated perspective. Hence, rather than top-down and one-way feedback from supervisor to teacher, self-feedback and lateral, two-way feedback is high in motivational potential. It is therefore of value for a group of teachers to compare performance of themselves and their students, e.g., through pre-structured peer observations, video-based analyses of teaching performance, or problem-based or activity-based discussion groups tackling such classroom concerns as discipline, student passivity, or the effective accomplishment of such activities as group work or giving feedback on students' oral or written performance (Boswood et al., 1993). Teacher sharing groups can be established on a computer network within a department, a school, a community, or world-wide.

Through sharing, brainstorming, and problem-solving with colleagues, teachers develop a common language and common reference points for understanding and interpreting their own and others' feedback. This in turn promotes empowerment, which is an important element of teacher change and long-term growth. For empowerment among teachers grows from enhanced understandings of practice, from being able to talk about practice and see ways to change it. Thus mutual feedback and group reflection cultivate individual reflectivity and self-development.

Attending to the Change Principles in ESL Work

In addition to attending to the five core job dimensions, Hackman's (1987) change principles can be applied to the design or enrichment of jobs in an ESL program. Figure 6 lists some of the possibilities in relation to each principle which are described in this section.

[Insert Figure 6 about here]

Combining Tasks. Teachers' jobs can combine tasks to increase skill variety and task identity, thus building their interest in the job and, as new skills are mastered, their confidence in their ability to perform work in their chosen career. For example, curriculum modules may combine two skill areas into blocks such as reading/writing, speaking/listening, or nontraditional ones such as reading/speaking and writing/listening. Each new combination will require somewhat new skills and will suggest different teaching approaches. Combining tasks generally implies diversifying tasks as well, thereby increasing the chances to innovate and to learn new things. In addition to increasing skill variety, combining tasks increases the depth and coherence of the unit of work, as several tasks are combined into

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one larger and longer term "mega-task" or "meta-task", thus enhancing task identity, task significance, and autonomy.

Teachers might be given opportunities to design new modules in their areas of interest utilizing their own special skills, or else to learn about a new area and develop the skills needed to function in that area. For example, a teacher who knows about computers or who wants to learn about them can be encouraged to design an Introduction to Computers module. When teachers are given the opportunity to plan a new course rather than teaching the same one over and over, the skill variety (and the vertical load and therefore the challenge and interest) of their job increases. Or tasks can be combined by having two individuals with different skills and areas of expertise work together in a team-teaching arrangement that will encourage them to develop new perspectives, skills, and areas of expertise.

Forming Natural Work Units. Natural work units can be created within an ESL program to increase task identity and task significance at the same time as social aspects of work are enhanced. Work groups might be based on areas of the curriculum -- e.g., reading or writing -- or on areas in which teachers want to develop expertise -- e.g., materials writing. Interest groups could also be formed for teachers wishing to update their knowledge in a particular area -- e.g., interlanguage pragmatics or computer-assisted language learning -- or to acquire skills needed for the job or for professional development -- e.g., computer skills, public speaking skills, research skills. Work groups could also be formed as project coordination teams center-ing on activities such as curriculum development, teacher education, test development, or program evaluation. The work units might be responsible for producing something every year -- e.g., a product such as a booklet, a fact sheet, or a video program, or a workshop for other staff members. Forming natural work units combines resources to increase the pool of skills and expertise within a given area of the language program, helping to focus the efforts of those with a natural inclination or talent in the same area. Where a reward such as time off or extra compensation is offered for the "product" of the work group's effort, joint projects can be seen as a sort of "collective incentive" program.

Establishing Client Relationships. Relationships with the students are more easily established in informal meetings such as tutorials, individual conferences, or small classes than in large lecture-type classes. Thus, it is important for the program administrator to ensure that teachers meet their students in small sections as part of their normal duties. Where individual small spaces are not possible, teachers can be assigned time in an individual office space or on a computer to interact with students face-to-face or, in networked mode using electronic mail. These facilities might also be used, where feasible, for interaction with clients other than students.

The formation by teachers of relationships with clients other than students in their classes can increase commitment and raise the level of autonomy, skill variety, and feedback on the job. In the context of many ESL programs, client relationships might be established at a sponsor luncheon, parent or host family party, or business party/luncheon with potential employers, recruiters, etc. Chances to socialize with students or with other staff, academic and non-academic, helps to cement relationships and to develop team spirit. An off-site retreat can be used to gain input from and build relationships with students and/or their parents, host families, sponsors, or employers. An off-site retreat might additionally be a vehicle for fostering team spirit, for developing problem-solving ability among staff, and for actually addressing problems that may be put aside for lack of time and concentration in a regular work day.

Vertical Loading. Vertical loading, which broadens a job by adding a higher level of responsibility and challenge, gives employees upward mobility, thereby increasing all of the core job dimensions while fostering commitment and motivation. Part of vertical loading is expanding tasks in a temporal dimension, i.e., having a person stick with the same task for a period of time. In this way, the task expands and develops as the teacher's skills continue to develop. Motivation is increased not only by the additional breadth and challenge of the job, but also by the additional possibilities for creative freedom and self-expression.

Vertical loading of an ESL teacher's job might involve mentoring of other teachers or supervision and training of new staff or graduate students, assumption of some administrative duties, or a degree of budgetary control or control over work assignments and scheduling. For example, teachers might be allowed to decide, or to help decide, on budgetary priorities for the program; they might be given a discretionary fund and authority to decide how to spend the money on such activities as student or new staff orientation, teachers' professional development, or the development of a resources center for teachers or students.

Experienced teachers can be enlisted to assist in student development -- e.g., cultural orientation or recruitment. Or, they may be enlisted to assist with administrative tasks, vertically loading their jobs by combining teaching and administration. Experienced as well as inexperienced teachers can enhance their understanding of ESL work by taking part in administrative internships or special administrative assignments involving certain administrative tasks or responsibilities for a time (Pennington, 1985). In addition, teachers can be encouraged to combine -- and rewarded for doing so -- teaching and research within their own classes or the larger educational program. Teachers can be encouraged to engage in action research and team research to develop research skills and the skill of getting published. Both the research itself and any publications arising from it can be put the teacher's resume, thus increasing upward mobility towards securing higher concrete and abstract work rewards.

Another type of vertical loading is accomplished by putting together pairs and teams of staff to work on program coordination or improvement. Projects can be assigned to pairs such as a teacher and a researcher to write a description of what is going on in classes and to develop goals for change. Teams of teacher

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plus administrator can develop teacher training workshops, evaluation approaches, or literature for external promotion or advertisement of the program.

The possibilities for vertical loading are highly motivational, as they give a long-term thrust to work: no matter how long you work in this job, there will always be something more to learn. As a way to recruit talented teachers, these possibilities should be spelled out in flexible career ladders and salary schedules that encourage people to continually advance in their chosen line of work.

Opening Feedback Channels. Feedback increases understanding and reflectivity towards personal and professional growth and the targetting of specific changes and rewards for achievement. Increased self-knowledge is promoted by documentary feedback such as video or audio records of classes, teacher diaries or case studies of individual classrooms, or information gathered on questionnaires filled out by students. Such information is especially useful when it is collected over a long period of time, from a variety of sources, and in a variety of circumstances, so it can show a trend or overall picture of performance. Accordingly, administrators can assist teachers in reviewing their performance in a given year by looking at various types of data for that year and previous years.

Feedback involves not only information, but also various types of recognition and rewards for achievement. These may be the verbal recognition and the psychological rewards that come with students', other teachers', or administrators' positive responses to one's efforts. Or they may involve public recognition such as being given an award for outstanding work, being invited to present some specialized information to others, or having a paper accepted for a conference or in a refereed journal. These rewards may also involve such tangible forms of recognition as advancement to a more responsible and higher paid position. In either case, motivation is increased through increased self-esteem and esteem from others.

Addressing Work Satisfaction, Motivation, and Commitment in the Field at Large

The support of one's profession adds a new dimension to work satisfaction, as practitioners gain access to the resources of a larger organization and experience the satisfaction of feeling part of a body of like-minded individuals. Bearing this in mind, ESL practitioners might consider joining with other like-minded individuals -- for example, through a professional organization such as TESOL -- to develop a global "morale action program" that will address the concerns documented in the present investigation. Such a program, which could be implemented during the remainder of the last decade of the twentieth century, might focus on what appears to be the primary need within ESL, viz., professional recognition. According to Blaber and Tobash (1989): "The consensus is that 1) until the field of TESOL is viewed as a profession with unique characteristics and 2) until TESOL professionals are viewed as having comparable worth to peers and col-

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leagues, it will be difficult to resolve or even address many salary, security, and benefit issues" (p. 4). Professional recognition for ESL and for individual practitioners is thus the essential precondition for attaining working conditions comparable to those of professionals in other fields who possess specialized knowledge and skills which can be obtained for the most part only through post-graduate training.

In order to gain professional recognition for ESL work, it will be necessary to attend to both the occupational structure and the power structure of the field. In the category of occupational structure are included matters of qualifications, career opportunitites, and standards and values. Under the heading of power structure fall matters relating to the establishment of the information base and the institutional position of ESL. In what follows, each of these categories is taken up in turn.

Occupational Structure

Qualifications. Like other professional areas, ESL must be perceived within academia and by the public at large as an educational specialization with unique requirements for preparation and evaluation of its practitioners (Pennington, 1989a,b; 1990a). Unfortunately, many people -- including not only the general public, but also deans and other academicians -- do not recognize the specialized skills and knowledge associated with the ESL field. Those who work in ESL therefore do themselves and their profession a disservice if they make it seem to others that the work they perform is effortless and in no way out-of-the-ordinary.

Because ESL teaching is generally perceived as entirely transparent and ordinary, as a type of work that virtually any native speaker can perform or claim to perform, it is necessary to make special efforts to stress to others the importance of recognized qualifications as a foundation for ESL work. This was done, for example, in Pennington (1990b), where an attempt was made to differentiate the expectations in terms of qualifications for ESL professionals vs. volunteers. A sample list of qualifications for ESL practitioners is shown in Figure 7:

[Insert Figure 7 about here]

Whether or not everyone would agree in detail with these specifications of the attitudes, skills, and areas of knowledge associated with ESL work, the important thing is that teachers, researchers, and administrators begin to codify what it is that they know and what it is that they do in ESL, and to put all of that information into a clear and comprehensive statement of qualifications. Such a statement can then become the basis for developing standards and job descriptions for ESL practitioners and for publicizing to others what it means to be an ESL professional -- which is certainly much more than being a native speaker of English.

In addition to codifying and publicizing the qualifications that are required for skilled ESL work, everyone who works in ESL can take a major step towards improving the professional image of the field by insisting that those without the proper qualifications are not in fact properly qualified to teach ESL, nor to evaluate the efforts of its practitioners. ESL has a history of being quite lenient in this regard -- much more so than other professions or tertiary-level fields. To reverse this longstanding eclecticism, practitioners must insist on the correct qualification for ESL work, that is, a graduate degree in TESL/TEFL or applied linguistics. Those who work in ESL need to educate others in academia that a literature-oriented or "pure" linguistics degree is not an appropriate qualification and does not provide the background needed for teaching and other kinds of academic work in ESL. Nowadays, there is no excuse for not hiring those with TESL graduate degrees. The 1989 directory of professional preparation programs in TESOL in the United States (Kornblum, 1989) lists 181 graduate degree courses, 30 of these offered at the doctoral level -- and this is only the programs in the U.S. There are many more offered in Canada, the U.K., Australia, Japan, and other countries.

A final point about qualifications relates to the level of graduate education in ESL. Although people who have a (taught) master's degree in ESL have advanced teaching qualifications and other specialized skills, these will not necessarily be recognized by others in academia as sufficient to support an academic discipline. Thus, while the backbone of ESL practice is the master's degree in TESL, the field also needs a strong base of doctoral level expertise to support the master's level. Unless a strong doctoral level specialization exists to back up the master's degree qualification, ESL will have problems being recognized in universities and by others with doctoral level qualifications. Without a doctoral foundation for the university-level ESL professional, ESL will then have to settle for being a second-class profession in a society of Ph.D.'s.

Career Opportunities. Another important aspect of occupational structure that is intimately tied up with professional recognition involves the sorts of opportunities that exist for careers in ESL. By definition, there is no such thing as a profession made up primarily or wholly of short-term, part-time, or volunteer practitioners. Short-term positions give ESL practitioners a temporary status that makes matters of career structure and professional development tangential, difficult to address, and easy to ignore -- for both the practitioner and the employer. If there is to be a bona fide profession of ESL, short-term positions cannot be the principal category of available jobs.

Similarly, part-time positions must be the exception, not the rule, if ESL is to lay claim to the title of profession. Although there may be many valid reasons for taking a part-time position, such as supplementing family income or trying out a potential new career, a real commitment to a field, to building a profession, is shown by a long-term, full-time association with that field as the primary focus of work. Part-timers who prefer to work part-time -- as opposed to the many part-timers who would readily take full-time jobs if they were available to them --

cannot be the core of an ESL profession.

While volunteers in the community and on campuses can provide valuable services supplementary to ESL instruction, they cannot be seen as a valid substitute for professionally qualified, paid ESL instructors. It cannot be enough to simply claim to be a "volunteer professional," as Van Horn (1991) would have it:

> There is no reason why a committed, motivated, interested TESL volunteer could not pick up some of the excellent ESL methods books available and teach herself or himself the essentials of TESL methodology and fundamental linguistics. (p. 17)

There is no other professional field where self-training is taken as equivalent to an institutional qualification. Thus, a volunteer doctor must still be a doctor, that is, must be certified by a medical degree. And even an M. D. cannot get a job as a volunteer lawyer. Not only would the legal profession not accept an uncertified person's appropriation of the title of lawyer, but whoever required the legal services of a lawyer would not accept less than a qualified legal professional to meet their needs. If ESL volunteers were equivalent to trained ESL professionals, there would be no reason to expend the time, the effort, and the financial outlay necessary to become trained in ESL, nor would there be any reason to pay anyone for ESL work.

Those within the field must develop a structure for ESL as a life-long career, with high-level, long-term goals for professional competence (Pennington, 1989b) that will ensure a wide range of capabilities and an advanced level of knowledge and skill for all ESL practitioners. One model of stages in the career development of language teachers is the following:

[Insert Figure 8 about here]

The model shows a range of curricular assignments, professional orientations, supervisory approaches, and sources of input as appropriate for ESL teachers at different stages in their careers.

A sample ESL career ladder is shown in Figure 9:

[Insert Figure 9 about here]

The progression of career grades as shown in Figure 9 illustrates how the capabilities and responsibilities of ESL teachers might be expected to increase in breadth and depth over time. The sample career ladder further illustrates how the increasing professional development of ESL teachers might be represented by a series of discrete performance objectives which can form the basis for job rewards. Each of the career grades described in this career ladder, which is adapted from one developed by a faculty committee at the English Language Center at Rochester (NY) Institute of Technology (Cone & Genzel, 1991), is associated with a promotion and a salary increase.

In the ESL career system represented in the figure, as described by Cone and Genzel (1991), it is the individual teacher's responsibility to build a dossier to document achievement of the performance objectives that merit promotion to the next level in the career ladder and to submit this dossier at an appropriate time to a committee which makes recommendations for employment actions. This ESL career system therefore parallels that of the tenure and promotion systems of other tertiary-level academic positions in which job action is based not on a supervisory evaluation, as is required in the public schools, but on committee review of a dossier compiled by the individual instructor. Following the lead of Cone and Genzel (1991), it is recommended that in setting up ESL career structure in tertiary institutions, the practice of other tertiary-level academic departments should be followed to the greatest extent possible.

In order to develop a graduated, long-term career structure for ESL work, it must be accepted that obtaining a graduate degree is only the beginning of becoming qualified in the ESL field. Like doctors, lawyers, engineers, and other professionals, those who work in ESL have to accept the challenge not only to continually upgrade their skills and learn new techniques, but also to contribute to the development of other practitioners and of the knowledge base of language learning and teaching. Thus, as ESL professionals advance along their individual career paths, they will also be advancing their profession and the frontiers of knowledge in education and language-related fields. Otherwise, ESL cannot lay claim to being a profession, not even an emergent or developing one.

ESL practitioners will be involved, then, in (1) professional development efforts with other practitioners and (2) research and publication. Involvement with other practitioners may take many forms, including mentoring, training workshops, and collaborative projects of various kinds. It may also take the form of sharing insights through publication of materials or research findings. As Brindley (1990) notes: "Research has an important role to play at different levels of an educational program, from broad issues of policy and planning down to very specific questions which may only be pertinent to a particular teacher or particular group of learners" (p. 8). Materials development or research projects may also be carried out as collaborations among practitioners, as recommended by Brindley (1990, p. 9ff), who offers useful suggestions for implementing such a focus in language programs.

Standards and Values. By definition, a profession is a body of individual practitioners who agree upon basic values and practices, set common standards for performance and outcomes of their work, and monitor practices for consistency with the agreed upon values and standards. Issues of values and standards cannot be ignored because recognition of ESL as a profession rests on the responsibility of individual teachers (Hawkins, 1990) and of the profession as a whole for outcomes in the classroom and in the world at large, where ESL teaching, whether offered by trained professionals or by other less qualified individuals, is having a far-reaching impact. Not only the profession at large, but also individual teachers and administrators must take responsibility for values and standards in their own individual contexts, in this way attending to the quality and status of the profession on a local, program-specific level (Pennington, 1989b).

Power Structure

Information Base. Professional recognition for ESL depends on the extent to which the field can claim a body of specialized information that it uniquely contributes to society and on the basis of which its practitioners are prepared for their work. Drawing our cue from the experience of other professions:

> None of the early professions could survive without a great deal of attention to the quality of their work and the applicability of their knowledge to practical problems. In all cases, the "public" had to be also convinced that the professions could provide the quality and quantity of services needed. Furthermore, in increasingly democratic and egalitarian societies, professions also had to pay special attention to develop a larger public acceptance. Such credibility has to be based not only on the ability to provide quality services to individuals, but on a substantial contribution which the entire profession makes to a theoretical "welfare of the society" at large. (Mestenhauser, 1986, p. 3)

The information base of ESL will be partly built on research on language learning and teaching. However, this research has to be supplemented by the development of other kinds of information within ESL. According to Lett (1983): "For optimal growth, a profession obviously must have its share of both basic and applied research: applied research without a theoretical base can be random, inefficient and confusing, while basic research without the requisite applied research has little or no positive effect on practice" (p. 14). ESL research should therefore not be restricted to classroom or curricular research, but can also include many types of pure research -- e.g., on language, on learning, and on cognition -- that are relevant to the development of the skills and the knowledge that form the information which ESL uniquely contributes to the welfare of society.

Another part of the information base of ESL will include information on who we are and what we do as ESL practitioners. This is the sort of information that will help ESL as a field to define its position to others and to gain public recognition of its scope and practices. In order to build up this part of the ESL information base, it will be necessary to conduct more surveys such as those reported in Chapter 3 and to gather more comparative information on different populations of ESL teachers and administrators. The field can start by collecting information on the status of practitioners, building from a model such as Blackie's (1990), "which can then be tested, used, and refined in the light of subsequent information" (sec. 5.1) on ESL teachers in different parts of the world. It would be of value to specifically compare the characteristics of ESL employment among non-British teachers with the occupational characterization developed by Blackie (1990) for British teachers, to see to what extent the educational profile, high turnover rates, weak career structure, and other aspects of the employment patterns hold for other ESL teacher groups. This type of comparative study would help determine the degree of unity of occupational status within the field, i.e., the extent to which a British ESL or EFL teacher has a similar occupational profile to an American, or an Australian, etc.

Another research agenda might test the specific findings of the Pennington and Riley (1991a, b) of Pennington and Ho (1995) investigations of teachers and the Pennington and Xiao (1990) investigation of administrators on other samples of ESL practitioners inside or outside the TESOL organization, to see to what extent those findings are valid for the ESL field as a whole. Comparative research on the motivational aspects of the field -- e.g., to find out what ESL teachers feel motivates them to stay in or to leave the field and how administrators are motivating teachers within specific ESL programs -- would also be of value in building up the profession.

In addition, the data presented in Chapter Two on teachers' work perceptions worldwide establishes a starting point for future research on the status of ESL, as its findings suggest hypotheses and research questions that can be investigated for teacher populations other than those specifically included in the studies reported. It would be useful to replicate and extend the Consortium Teacher Professional Satisfaction Study findings with samples drawn from the ESL teacher population, in order to discover to what extent the ESL teacher profile is internally consistent -- e.g., across different geographical areas and across teacher groups with different personal profiles in terms of such variables as grade level, professional status, job tenure, age, and gender -- and to what extent it differs from the profiles of other teacher groups. Specific areas of interest and their associated research questions include the following:

- Work profile: What are the expectations of ESL practitioners as to work roles, responsibilities, and classroom practices and how do these compare to the realities in their present work contexts?
- Aspiration and adaptation: What are the aspiration and adaptation levels of career-oriented ESL professionals, as opposed to temporary, part-time, or volunteer teachers?
- International variation in job satisfaction: Is the tremendous variability reported in job satisfaction for different countries also reflected in ESL?
- High job satisfaction in the U. S. and Canada: To what extent is the high job satisfaction of U. S. and Canadian teachers reflected in ESL?
- Low morale in the U. K.: To what extent is the low morale -- the "depressed profile" -- manifested for British teachers reflected also in ESL?
- Work centrality and commitment: In regard to the high work centrality found for teachers in the U. S. and the U. K., to what extent are ESL teachers highly committed to their work in general or in particular jobs? What is the relationship of work centrality and job opportunities in ESL?

- Teacher-student relationships: How do ESL teachers compare to other teachers in the importance they assign to establishing a warm relationship with students?
- Status: Considering the fact that both U. S. and U. K. teachers perceive low status for teaching, to what extent is the perception of low status in ESL separable from the perception of low status in teaching?
- Job scope: To what extent does the importance found for job scope among American and British teachers apply within the ESL field at large?
- Advancement opportunities: All studies found low advancement opportunities as a central concern of teachers. To what extent is ESL the same as or different from other teaching areas, in terms of both perception of advancement opportunities and actual advancement opportunities?
- Compensation: Since many teacher groups complain about pay, what is the level of pay that might be considered reasonable by ESL teachers, or the point at which salary complaints diminish?
- Stress: What are the levels within ESL of self-reported stress and burnout in relation to the other factors?

The information provided by these different types of research would furnish a basis for understanding and for action to improve the status of individuals, of language programs, and of the profession as a whole.

Institutional Position. In addition to building up an information base, ESL practitioners will need to work to disseminate this information to others and to engage in various sorts of sociopolitical action to convince people that what ESL teachers do is important. A big part of the goal of professionalization of the field of ESL must be to educate the general public about its value to the society at large and about the quality of services and other benefits provided, such as increasing internationalism and the store of knowledge about language. To this end, ESL must establish an institutional position, a power base from which it can operate to develop and to disseminate information. This power base will require communications channels and networks of various sorts that allow those in ESL to communicate what they know, both to those inside the profession and to others outside the profession, so that those individuals and groups might increase their understanding of the nature of ESL and gain the maximum benefit from the specialized skills and knowledge which it offers. The ESL base should be located physically and administratively inside an institutional structure and should have its own administrative head and budget.

As ESL seeks to improve its position by defining the importance of the role it fulfills within education and the place that it occupies, which is in fact one of the most central within the educational establishment, ESL educators can think about staking out new territory for themselves. At tertiary level, ESL might try to establish itself along with foreign languages in Language Learning units, such as centers or institutes, focusing on comparative research related to the learning and teaching of different languages. As another option, ESL could merge in a mutually beneficial alignment with the newly revitalized English subspecialization of Rhetoric, and practitioners working in these two fields could develop new academic departments focusing on English speech and writing for a variety of purposes. Such departments could incorporate the present focus within ESL of EAP [English for Academic Purposes] and ESP [English for Specific Purposes]. Either of these two options for alignments of ESL with other fields would seem to be preferable to the other two major alternatives, either (1) trying to maintain ESL within departments such as English or Linguistics that do not always appreciate its applied emphasis or (2) trying to go it entirely alone, as a totally independent area, different from other academic units in terms of goals and structure.

Within the educational establishment, those in ESL will either belong to the power structure wielding the control that comes with possession of the valued commodities of specialized knowledge and expertise, or they will be on the periphery doing what those who hold power require them to do. By establishing itself in a more centralized, mainstream institutional position, ESL will be able to build up its credibility as a profession, and so legitimize the rights and claims of its members to the privileges that go along with being a professional. From the established position, it will be possible for ESL to underwrite activities that create the information -- through social and political action, through research, and through publishing -- which is guiding the advance of knowledge and which is at the same time guiding educational and social policy. In this way, ESL will gain a measure of control and autonomy that protects it from interference by outside interests, so that it can (1) develop as a profession, (2) reap the benefits of its practice for its own members, and (3) ensure that none of its practitioners are left on the margins of academia, doing unpaid or underpaid "shadow work" that is actually of great value to education and society.

Concluding Remarks to Chapter Four

Recognizing that different people will have different types and levels of motivation, I have advocated an individualized approach to career development in ESL at the program level. The approach caters to the needs and interests of individual teachers through a variety of personal growth and career options which seek to enhance the critical psychological states of experienced meaningfulness, experienced responsibility, and knowledge of results identified in the job characteristics model of work motivation (Hakcman, 1987; Hackman & Oldham, 1980). The enhancement of these psychological states is accomplished by addressing the core job dimensions of skill variety, task identity, task signficance, autonomy, and feedback individually and collectively through the five change principles of combining tasks, forming natural work units, establishing client relationships, vertical loading, and opening feedback channels.

This approach, which focuses on increasing the diversity and level of opportunity in employment and on self-managed work performance and rewards, is in the dual traditions of human resources development and commitment-based organizational management. These employee-centered traditions value individuality and recognize that the best performance derives from individual initiative and employees' realization of their own higher level needs for psychological satisfaction in their work. According to this motivational philosophy, a committed, high-level performance is achieved through self-determination and self-stimulation, qualities cultivated by the high expectations and high level of commitment towards employees by the employer, in conjunction with the freedom and the opportunities given to employees to meet those expectations.

Accordingly, in developing motivational approaches for ESL, the focus should be on trying to engender, as Hackman (1987) describes it, "a self-perpetuating cycle of positive work motivation powered by self-generated rewards" (p. 474). This is accomplished by focusing on teachers' long-term growth in the sense of greater self-actualization and empowerment, as well as in the sense of career advancement. The focus will be on teachers' achieving job satisfaction, commitment to work, and a high level of performance in different aspects of ESL work as they realize their full potential, both personally and professionally. By giving attention to the long-term and higher level needs of individual teachers, motivational approaches based on Hackman's (1987) job enrichment principles or more generally on employee-centered management practices encourage self-determination and self-stimulation while also helping teachers to achieve upward mobility. As upward mobility gives teachers enhanced future prospects, it develops in them a sense of optimism and a striving for future rewards that promotes excellence (Pennington & Brown, 1991).

[Insert Figure 10 about here]

Rather than a top-down manager who runs a language program by means of highly centralized control and standardization, the ESL administrator who develops individuals and their commitment to the organization manages in a way which is sensitive to differing needs and conditions. By applying this form of context-sensitive, humanistic management, the ESL program administrator builds a diverse and highly skilled group of educators who can adjust to changing circumstances as needed and who collectively represent a strong, context-responsive program which, like its members, will continue to grow and prosper. In addition, by helping to develop more self-motivated and higher-achieving, higher-level ESL teachers and educators in a broader sense, these individualized job enrichment approaches to language program management have an important by-product for the ESL field, in that they enlarge the definition of ESL work, increasing the scope, complexity, creativity, challenge, and level of skill needed to perform in an ESL job. By expanding the notion of ESL work, they enhance the status not only of its individual practitioners, but also of the profession as a whole.

Finally, ESL must come to be seen not as a supplementary income for those who want only part-time work, nor as a temporary job for graduate students pursuing degree programs in linguistics or other fields. Its image as a "volunteer profession" and as a stop-gap form of employment for those living or traveling overseas must be replaced by an image of a skilled, specialized occupation inhabited by careerists with graduate degrees who continually upgrade their knowledge and skills, who support their instructional activities by research and publication, and who maintain high standards for their work. As this new image is publicized and institutionalized, and as the general public comes to recognize the unique content of the ESL field, practitioners will be able to demand parity of employment conditions and wages with other professional groups and to establish an institutional position comparable in power and structure to that of other respected academic fields. In this way, ESL will be in a position to provide the highest level of service to its practitioners, its students, its institutions, and to the society at large, and to establish itself as a true profession.

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Table 1

Comparison of Selected Demographic Characteristics of (i) the Combined Results of Surveys by Pennington and Riley (1990a,b) and (ii) Pennington and Ho (1992) with Those of the TESOL Employment Concerns Survey (Blaber & Tobash, 1989; Tobash & Blaber, 1987)

	Pennington & Riley (1991a,b) N=68	Pennington & Ho (1992) N=95	TESOL Employment Concerns Survey N=523
Sex			
% Female	72	77	70
Education			
% Master's	70	66	66
% Doctorate	21	21	20
% ESL	44	46	45
Employment Status			
% Full-Time	69*	71	73
% Part-Time	28*	29	27
% 4-yr. Coll./Univ.	38	53**	44

* The missing 3% includes one JDI respondent working free-lance and one unemployed.

**The figure includes U.S. private intensive language institutes.

Table 2

Comparative Rank Orders on the MSQ Scales for ESL Practitioners (Pennington & Riley, 1990) and for Elementary Teachers and Laborers (Weiss et al., 1967)

MSQ SCALE	ESL Practitioners	Elementary Teachers	Laborers
1. Ability utilization	5	8	19
2. Achievement	4	4	7
3. Activity	6	11	4
4. Advancement	20	16	20
5. Authority	13	17	17
6. Company policies/practices	18	20	14
7. Compensation	19	18	3
8. Co-workers	10	4	5
9. Creativity	3	2	16
10. Independence	9	14	8
11. Moral values	1	6	2
12. Recognition	11	15	15
13. Responsibility	7	9	10
14. Security	12	13	1
15. Social service	2	1	6
16. Social status	15	19	13
17. Supervision-human relations	16	3	10
18. Supervision-technical	17	7	9
19. Variety	8	9	18
20. Working conditions	14	11	12

Table 3: Comparison of Mean (M) and Standard Deviation (SD) for TESOL Group (Present Study) and Other Occupational Subgroups (Maslach & Jackson, 1986:9) on Subscales of the *Maslach Burnout Inventory*

MBI Subscales

		Emotional Exhaustion	Depersonalization	Personal Accomplishment
TESOL Group	M	19.46	5.10	38.66
	SD	11.31	4.62	5.52
All Other Employee Groups	M	20.99	8.73	34.58
	SD	10.75	5.89	7.11
K-12 Teachers	M	21.25	11.00	35.54
	SD	11.01	6.19	6.89
Post-Secondary Educators	M	18.57	5.57	39.17
	SD	11.95	6.63	7.92
Social Services Workers	M	21.35	7.46	32.75
	SD	10.51	5.11	7.71
Doctors & Nurses	M	22.19	7.12	36.53
	SD	9.53	5.22	7.34
Counselors, Psychologists, & Psychiatrists	M	16.89	5.72	30.87
	SD	8.90	4.62	6.37
Other (e.g. Attorneys, Police, Ministers)	M	21.42	8.11	36.43
	SD	11.05	6.15	7.00

Figure 1

Model of the Committed Workforce

(From Martin & Nicholls, p. 27)

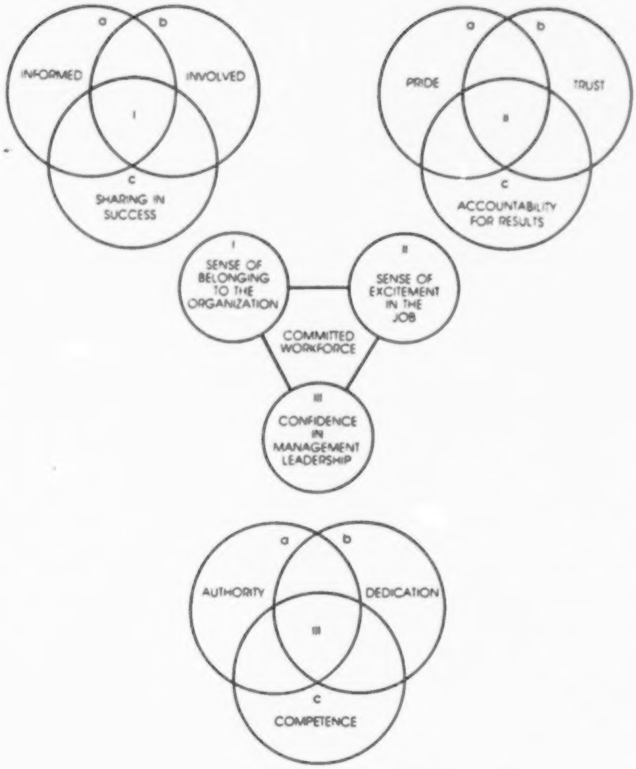
a
b
INFORMED
INVOLVED
I
c
SHARING IN SUCCESS
a
b
PRIDE
TRUST
II
c
ACCOUNTABILITY FOR RESULTS
I
SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE ORGANIZATION
II
SENSE OF EXCITEMENT IN THE JOB
COMMITTED WORKFORCE
III
CONFIDENCE IN MANAGEMENT LEADERSHIP
a
b
AUTHORITY
DEDICATION
III
c
COMPETENCE

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Figure 2

Workforce Strategies

(Walton, 1987, pp. 452-453)

	Control	Transitional	Commitment
Job design principles	Individual attention limited to performing individual job.	Scope of individual responsibility extended to upgrading system performance, via participative problem-solving groups in QWL, EI, and quality circle programs.	Individual responsibility extended to upgrading system performance.
	Job design deskills and fragments work and separates doing and thinking.	No change in traditional job design or accountability.	Job design enhances content of work emphasizes whole task, and combines doing and thinking.
	Accountability focused on individual.		Frequent use of teams as basic accountable unit.
	Fixed job definition.		Flexible definition of duties, contingent on changing conditions.
Performance expectations	Measured standards define minimum performance. Stability seen as desirable.		Emphasis placed on higher, "stretch objectives," which tend to be dynamic and oriented to the marketplace.
Management organization: structure, systems, and style	Structure tends to be layered, with top-down controls.	No basic changes in approaches to structure, control, or authority.	Flat organization structure with mutual influence systems.
	Coordination and control rely on rules and procedures.		Coordination and control based more on shared goals, values, and traditions.
	More emphasis on prerogatives and positional authority.		Management emphasis on problem solving and relevant information and expertise.
	Status symbols distributed to reinforce hierarchy.	A few visible symbols change.	Minimum status differentials to de-emphasize inherent hierarchy.
Compensation policies	Variable pay where feasible to provide individual incentive.	Typically no basic changes in compensation concepts.	Variable rewards to create equity and to reinforce group achievements: gain sharing, profit sharing.
	Individual pay geared to job evaluation.		Individual pay linked to skills and mastery.
	In downturn, cuts concentrated on hourly payroll.	Equality of sacrifice among employee groups.	Equality of sacrifice.
Employment assurances	Employees regarded as variable costs.	Assurances that participation will not result in loss of job.	Assurances that participation will not result in loss of job.
		Extra effort to avoid layoffs.	High commitment to avoid or assist in reemployment.
			Priority for training and retaining existing work force.
Employee voice policies	Employee input allowed on relatively narrow agenda. Attendant risks emphasized. Methods include open-door policy, attitude surveys, grievance procedures, and collective bargaining in some organizations.	Addition of limited, ad hoc consultation mechanisms. No change in corporate governance.	Employee participation encouraged on wide range of issues. Attendant benefits emphasized. New concepts of corporate governance.
	Business information distributed on strictly defined "need to know" basis.	Additional sharing of information.	Business data shared widely.
Labor-management relations	Adversarial labor relations; emphasis on interest conflict.	Thawing of adversarial attitudes; joint sponsorship of QWL or EI; emphasis on common fate.	Mutuality in labor relations; joint planning and problem solving on expanded agenda.
			Unions, management, and workers redefine their respective roles.

Figure 3

The Job Characteristics of Work Motivation

(From Hackman, 1987, p. 474)

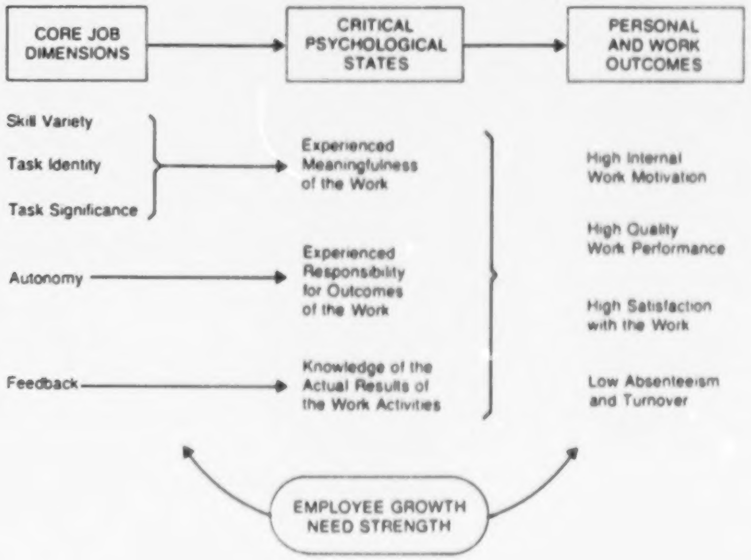
CORE JOB DIMENSIONS
CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL STATES
PERSONAL AND WORK OUTCOMES
Skill Variety
Task Identity
Task Significance
Experienced Meaningfulness of the Work
Autonomy
Experienced Responsibility for Outcomes of the Work
Feedback
Knowledge of the Actual Results of the Work Activities
High Internal Work Motivation
High Quality Work Performance
High Satisfaction with the Work
Low Absenteeism and Turnover
EMPLOYEE GROWTH NEED STRENGTH

Figure 4

Principles for Changing Jobs

(From Hackman, 1987, p. 477)

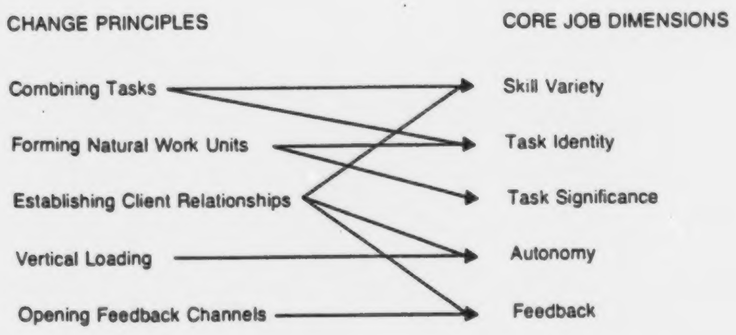
CHANGE PRINCIPLES
CORE JOB DIMENSIONS
Combining Tasks
Forming Natural Work Units
Establishing Client Relationships
Vertical Loading
Opening Feedback Channels
Skill Variety
Task Identity
Task Significance
Autonomy
Feedback

Figure 5

Comparison of Results on the Job Descriptive Index for ESL Teachers (Pennington & Riley, 1990b) and for Teachers in Alaska, Norway, and Wales (Watland, 1988)

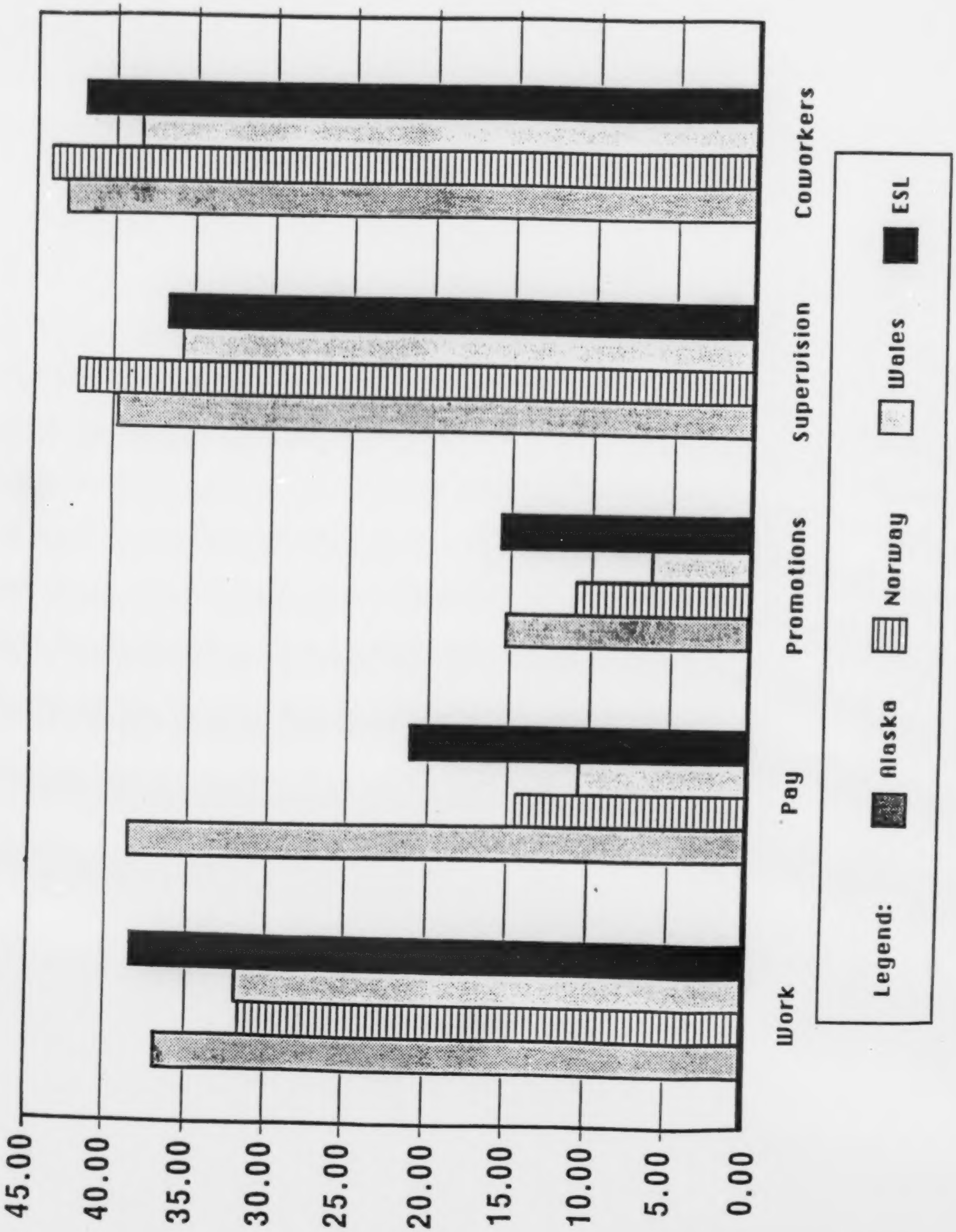

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Figure 6

Figure 6. Applications of the Five Change Principles in an ESL Program

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Combining Tasks

Skill-area blocks
New modules initiated and designed by teachers
Team-teaching

Forming Natural Work Units

Work groups formed around common interests
Interest groups formed to learn about a new area
Program coordination teams

Establishing Client Relationships

Tutorials and small classes
Contacts with students' families, sponsors, employers
Off-site retreat with students, families, sponsors, employers

Vertical Loading

Supervisory and training responsibilities for new staff
Budgetary authority in a particular area
Administrative internships and special assignments
Research, esp. related to teaching and the program as a whole
Pair and team projects for program coordination or improvement
Career ladders and salary schedules

Opening Feedback Channels

Video or audio records of classes
Teacher diaries or classroom case studies
Student questionnaires
Long-term records to show trends
Public recognition and awards for achievement
Promotions

Figure 7

Qualifications for ESL Teachers

(From Pennington, 1989b, p. 170)

Attitudes

A belief in the importance of language teaching.
An attitude towards students of empathy and interest,
Confidence in one's own knowledge and classroom skills.
Positive attitudes about the language and culture being taught.
Positive attitudes about the language and culture of the students.
Openness to new ideas about language, learning, teaching approach.

Knowledge

Knowledge of individual students: strengths, weaknesses, attitudes.
Self-knowledge: strengths, weaknesses, attitudes, how others see us.
The language being taught: phonology, syntax, lexicon, pragmatics.
The culture of the language being taught.
The language and culture of the students.
Language learning theory.

Skills

Language teaching skills.
Classroom management skills.
Communication and interpersonal skills.
Skills for assessing students' progress.
The ability to self-evaluate.
The ability to adapt teaching approach to circumstances.
A comfortable, consistent teaching approach emphasising personal teaching strengths and preferences, and de-emphasising or compensating for individual weaknesses.

Figure 8

Stages in Faculty Development

(From Pennington, 1989a, p. 107)

Curricular assignment		*Professional orientation*	*Supervisory approach*	*Sources of input*
Advanced stages	*Initial stages*			
(5) supervising teaching	(1) supervised teaching	training	directive (providing direction)	Su, St Fa
(6) developing curriculum	(2) teaching across the curriculum	exploring the curriculum	supervisory (suggesting alternatives)	Su, St Fa, Se
(7) developing materials	(3) teaching in favorite areas	specialising	facilitative (providing resources	Su Fa, Se
(8) developing new areas	(4) teaching in new areas	expanding competencies	collegial (sharing resources)	Fa, Se

(Su = supervisor, St = students, Fa = faculty members, Se = self)

Figure 9

Sample Career Ladder

(Adapted from Cone & Genzel, 1991)

TEACHING - LEVEL 3

- works with individual clients in a tutorial setting under supervision of department head

- teaches some core courses in ESL in area of special interest or expertise with support from supervising faculty member or department head

- demonstrates cross-cultural awareness and empathy in relationships with students

- participates in departmental activities for students

TEACHING - LEVEL 4

- teaches a variety of core courses offered at each level

- demonstrates familiarity with current materials and techniques by applying these in the classroom

- skilled in administering appropriate tests and in using test results to plan suitable instruction for individuals and groups

- serves as an adviser to individual students and makes referrals as needed

- contributes to curriculum development

- develops and plans extra-curricular activities for student groups

- strives, through reading, study, and attendance at appropriate activities, to broaden own understanding of differing cultures

TEACHING - LEVEL 5

- assumes monitoring role with new faculty

- initiates and develops new course and/or programs for special groups

- initiates and confers with academic and other departments in making recommendations for individual students or groups

- maintains own professional development by making conference presentations and/or publishing in some aspect of ESL or cross-cultural issues

TEACHING - LEVEL 6

- serves as a teaching consultant within and/or outside the institution

  a. in the design of ESL courses or programs

     and/or

  b. curriculum or instruction to meet differing cultural needs

- conducts teacher training workshops (in-service programs) for department and/or faculty at other institutions or as part of presentations at professional conferences

- shares cross-cultural expertise with ESL facutly and/or faculty in other fields at the home institution and/or other institutions

- conducts classroom-based research and applies results to curriculum development and instructional design

- develops materials for use in the ESL center at the home institution and elsewhere

Figure 10. Benefits of Employee-Centered Management and Job Enrichment

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ESL teaching work is enhanced.

Teachers' understanding of work is enhanced.

Teachers are empowered to grow and to achieve.

Teachers are motivated to grow and to achieve.

Teachers grow and achieve.

Teachers actualize their potential.

ESL programs and the ESL profession is enhanced.
